DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 075 071 PS 006 405

AUTHOR	Ambrose, Edna; Miel, Alice
TITLE	Children's Social Learning: Implications of Research and Expert Study.
INSTITUTION	Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	58
NOTE	120p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 ($2.25)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Adjustment (to Environment); Books; *Cultural Awareness; Curriculum Development; *Democratic Values; Interaction; Personality Development; Research Reviews (Publications); Social Attitudes; Social Development; Social Environment; *Socialization; Social Values

ABSTRACT

This book, designed as an aid for teachers and curriculum developers, reports the findings of a study of children's social learnings and the ways they are acquired. Topics covered are: (1) a perspective on social learning--definition of social learnings, a view of social learnings, social learnings for democratic living, social learnings related to living in today's world, interrelation of healthy personality development and social learnings, the school's role in fostering democratic social learnings; (2) interrelationships of environment and social learnings--individual-environment interaction, selective interaction, interpersonal environment and negative social learnings, interpersonal environment and positive social learnings, sentiments in the environment, environments of socioeconomic groups, language development; (3) a school environment which facilitates selection of democratic social learnings--a propitious environment, a climate which supports democratic interaction, an environment which builds good feelings, an environment which affords needed identifications, an environment structured for selected interaction; and (4) social learning and needed research--fostering positive social learnings, need for research, experimentation and study. A bibliography of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and a newspaper article is provided. (KM)

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children's social learning

IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH AND EXPERT STUDY

EDNA AMBROSE • ALICE MIEL

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Children's Social Learning

IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH AND EXPERT STUDY

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Price: $2.25

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From the Association

PREPARING children for a democratic way of life is no easy task. Teachers and curriculum workers are constantly seeking better ways of helping children acquire the learnings they need to help maintain and advance the democratic way of life in a rapidly changing and interdependent world.

There is seldom a dearth of *opinion* about ways of educating children. However, findings of research and thoughtful study by recognized authorities in social education are not always easily available to many of the persons whose responsibility is to provide good learning experiences for children. It was to help meet a need for sound findings in this area that the Association invited Edna Ambrose and Alice Miel to make a study of children's social learnings and how these are acquired. This booklet is a report of their findings.

An analysis of the process through which children acquire social learnings is reported. Findings from controlled research, action research, and thoughtful study by recognized authorities are among the sources from which implications for teaching are derived. The authors viewed the school's role as that of fostering in children the development of healthy personality and of the intellectual and emotional qualities which enable them to act in accordance with democratic values and the demands placed upon citizens of a democracy. For teachers and other curriculum leaders interested in the improvement of social education, this publication will serve as a useful guide.

All members of the Association are especially indebted to Edna Ambrose and Alice Miel for their careful, painstaking research that was done on this subject and for the writing of this booklet.

Rodney Tillman, Executive Secretary, ASCD, read the original manuscript and gave helpful suggestions. Robert R. Leeper, Editor and Associate Secretary, ASCD, edited the final manuscript and was in charge of its publication. Florence O. Skuce, Editorial Assistant, NEA Publications Division, guided technical production of the booklet. Ruth P. Ely, Editorial Assistant, ASCD, secured permissions to quote. Cover design and title page are by Kenneth Frye, Head, Art Unit, NEA Publications Division.

JANE FRANSETH, *President*
For the Executive Committee

June 1958

Foreword

TEACHERS have many questions about social education. This study was commissioned by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development in the hope that research findings would give sound answers to many of these questions. Preliminary searches of these findings soon made three facts apparent.

First, the task of surveying research proved to be so extensive that this work had to be limited to one school level. A decision to focus upon the elementary school was influenced by the experience and interest of Dr. Ambrose, the person who accepted the major responsibility for research and writing.

Second, a careful attempt was made to identify the practical problems teachers face in the area of social education. Considerable time was spent in gathering questions relating to this area from teachers studying at Teachers College, Columbia University, and at the University of Tennessee. A subsequent review of research findings for answers to such questions revealed so little pertinent material that this approach was then abandoned as unrewarding.

Third, many questions from teachers seemed to be dictated by meager insight or by prior, more or less arbitrary decisions as to what to teach in social studies and how to teach it. It was reasoned that better and more basic questions could and should be asked. These better questions could be discovered only by going back of current conceptions and practices in elementary school social studies to the social learning necessary for the perpetuation and advancement of democracy. It was reasoned further that once the process of democratic socialization is analyzed carefully educators can plan for more effective learning opportunities not only in social studies but throughout the entire curriculum.

At this point, a study of personality development, socialization and learning was undertaken in an attempt to determine how children acquire their social learnings, procedures which facilitate or impede the process, and implications for a school program designed to help children acquire democratic social learnings. The scope of the study was expanded to include materials reporting the significant insights of scholars who project research-based knowledge in their fields of inquiry into theories and hypotheses for practice.

Securing direction for improving social education required the utilization of insights and studies drawn from several disciplines. Obviously, it would have been both foolhardy and unscientific to presume to verify all the implications for social education derived from various disciplines. No attempt was made to do so. Research-based hypotheses and theories were accepted as presented by experts in various fields. An individual was considered an expert if he had spent much of his life studying in a particular field and if he was recognized by many others as being deliberate, accurate and perceptive in his work. The search was limited to materials which had appeared in published form since 1940.

As the study progressed, the conviction grew that social learning within the school depends upon the immediate and expanded environment in which children interact both before and during their school years. The findings are organized in accordance with that conviction.

The report begins with an analysis of social learnings sorely needed for democratic living today, an examination of the interrelationships between the components of healthy personality development and those important social learnings, and a statement of the school's role in furthering such learnings of children.

In the second chapter the findings of research and expert opinion are utilized to present the interrelationships of environment and social learning. Emphasis here is placed upon the children's interpersonal environments outside the school.

The third chapter is devoted to an examination of the school environment which favors the development of social learnings needed for democratic living. General implications for the school's program of social education are presented.

A brief summary and proposals for further research, experimentation and study conclude the report.

Many teachers and colleagues contributed to this publication by directing the writers to pertinent studies and offering constructive suggestions for the development and organization of the contents.

Because of the uniqueness of their contributions, some persons merit special recognition:

Thelma Adair, Grace Champion, Martha Hanson, Frank Levy, Arthur Saydman, Clayton Seeley and Robert Shadick who located many of the research materials which were used in the initial phases of the study.

Arno Bellack and the late Ruth Cunningham who, through their insightful analysis of proposals presented to them, emphasized the

need for developing a theoretical framework within which to present the implications which research offers for social education.

Peggy Brogan, Robert McManus and Wanda Robertson, who spent a great deal of time conferring with the writers and offered invaluable suggestions for organizing and completing the writing.

To all who contributed in any way, the writers acknowledge their indebtedness and express their gratitude.

May 1958

EDNA AMBROSE
ALICE MIEL

• I •

A Perspective on Social Learning

THE SCHOOLS of the United States face no task more important and exacting than that of helping the young acquire the social learnings which enable them to function as responsible and effective members of a democratic society in a world of ever expanding horizons. Challenges to democracy, both at home and abroad, and changes wrought by advances in scientific and technological fields underscore the urgency of utilizing available knowledge to improve social education in the schools.

Fortunately, at the very time when these challenges confront educators with overwhelming responsibilities, there is an increasing flow of helpful information at their disposal. Research and thoughtful study of experts in such fields as biology, psychology, medicine, and psychiatry have produced a vast amount of knowledge about the human organism and its growth. The younger social sciences, such as social psychology, cultural anthropology, and sociology have revealed the impact of social phenomena upon human growth and learning. Psychiatry and psychoanalysis have emphasized the significance of interpersonal relations and the inner organization of experience upon the development of personality. As Giles avers in presenting his growth-belonging theory of human dynamics:

> It is possible that we now have, if we could put it into usable form, a large part of the knowledge needed to manage human affairs for purposes of good, for a fuller life for all, rather than for purposes of evil, of destruction of the fullness of life for all. The young sciences of the past twenty-five years have given us research material which has the most powerful meaning, if it were but generally known and used. Slowly it is beginning to be known, yet development of its understanding, and still more its use, is painfully behind the need.[1]

Any program of social education is effective only to the extent that it helps living, purposeful, active children build within themselves the learnings necessary for effective participation in their society.

[1] H. Harry Giles. *Human Dynamics and Human Relations.* New York: New York University Press, 1954. p. 1.

All people, in every time and place, engage in a process of socializing the young. Whether with conscious intent or not, other people by what they do to, for or with a child encourage him to channel his impulses and organize his behaviors in ways acceptable to them. This process, through which a child learns the customs of a group, develops the skills and techniques useful in group life, and builds within himself the values and ideals held relevant by the group, is called socialization. It is through the process of socialization that the child learns to relate to others. It is through this process that he develops his social learnings.

Definition of Social Learnings

Social learnings in this context (and in this study) refer to those controls of behavior which a person develops as he lives through and reacts to social situations. They influence his behavior in the various groups with which he associates. Included are such learnings as values, ideals, ways of relating to others, ways of solving social problems, social concepts, and feelings—especially feelings about oneself and others. They can be looked upon as learnings that enable an individual to take a satisfying and useful place in the various groups with which he is associated. In this sense the positive and hoped-for learnings are emphasized.[2]

But, wherever a child is, with whomever he is interacting, he is continually developing, altering and refining his social learnings. Some may be positive in that they promote good feelings about himself and others and develop accurate and socially useful meanings. On the other hand, some may be negative in that they do not invite a healthy and realistic relationship either to self or to society. Many children, despite valiant efforts, do not acquire learnings that are either personally satisfying or socially useful. For the purpose of this study, it is important to recognize that social learnings may be positive or negative and attempt to determine some of the ways in which the school can enter the socialization process on the positive side.

A View of Social Learnings

To chart a direction for helping children acquire the social learnings needed for effective living in their society, it is helpful to hold in mind

[2] Throughout this paper the term, "positive social learnings," is used interchangeably with "democratic social learnings" to denote the social learnings requisite for democratic living or healthy personality development in a democratic society. The term, "negative social learnings," refers to learnings deleterious to the realization of democratic values or the development of healthy democratic personalities.

a concept of social learnings which subsumes several interrelated elements. For this purpose, social learnings may be thought of as those learnings which help an individual maintain continuity between himself with his own developing habits of thinking, feeling, acting and his own society with whatever framework is necessary for its survival. This concept recognizes, explicitly or implicitly, important principles of human growth and learning which decisively influence the acquisition of social learnings.

The Whole Child Is Involved

To examine ways for fostering social learnings with a "thinking-feeling-acting" individual as a frame of reference is difficult for those oriented toward conceiving thinking *and* feeling *and* acting as separate behaviors. Yet, straight thinking about what children may be learning places upon teachers the onus of constantly striving to act upon the understanding that a child is at one and the same time a thinking-feeling-acting person. He does not and cannot shut off any one aspect at any time. He has all his feelings, all his needs for activity, all his accumulated learnings with him all of the time. He not only learns what he is doing but he learns ways of thinking and feeling about the doing, about himself and about those who are with him. This interrelatedness of learnings is considered in the report of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. The authors state, "The child does not learn only what is set out for him to learn, but he learns ways of learning it, and habits of work and attitudes toward the task at hand, and feelings toward the people who set it out for him to learn and others for whom they stand . . . learning is complex and not simple . . . purposes, feelings, attitudes, ways of life and personal dedications are learned as well as arithmetic, geography, history and spelling . . . these latter are not and cannot be learned without learning some of the former simultaneously." [3]

The Growing Child Actively Seeks Social Learnings

A comprehensive view of social learnings recognizes that a child will actively strive to maintain continuity between himself and his society. The belief that socialization has to be forced upon an unready or unwilling child has been challenged by research and expert observation in this century. The newborn infant is ready for social relation-

[3] Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, editors. *Personality in the Making.* New York: Harper and Brothers, College Dept., 1952. p. 237-38.

ships. He needs other humans, is, in fact, helplessly dependent upon them. Throughout his life he will strive to grow, to exercise his dawning powers, to be himself and be for himself. But he will strive to find himself through identification with others. In fact, he can realize his humanness in no other way.

Jersild makes the last point, saying that the individual and the social are but two manifestations of the same continuum. "It is in a social setting," he says, "that the child finds elements that are essential for his own self-fulfillment. . . . Humanity is not an individual possession. It is something which, if one has it at all, one has in common with others. . . . Even that which may be regarded as a person's most individual possession—his inner self—has social origins." [4]

The active striving to maintain continuity between self and society is emphasized in the theory of human behavior presented by Giles. From his careful study of research, he proposes that "*growth* is the inclusive purpose and *belonging* the chief condition of human striving." [5] It is a fact, he says, "that human beings want to grow, develop, use all their capacities. It is apparent, also, that the chief condition of growth seems to be *belonging*, and that this is true of the single cell as well as of the individual and any social group which seeks a continuing life as a group." [6] . . . "Wanting to belong is one of the strongest tendencies in the individual member of a human society." [7]

Any child, of any age, faces the task of resolving this peculiarly human dilemma: how to be an individual in his own right, following his impulses and purposes, creating his ways of dealing with the external world and at the same time how to maintain satisfying and accepting relationships with other humans equally bent upon realizing their potentialities. It is in the process of working out these self-other relationships that social learning takes place.

Anderson and Anderson, in a penetrating analysis of social development, propose that "these two problems encompass the whole of human living. Out of the recognized need for spontaneity and harmony have arisen our concepts of law: contracts, torts, equities, rights. Out of the problem of integration of differences, of securing for *all persons* freedom to be themselves, have [*sic*] arisen our system of ethics. It can well be maintained that the social development of the

[4] Arthur T. Jersild. *Child Psychology*. Fourth edition. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954. p. 28.

[5] H. Harry Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

child is not separate and apart from, but basic to, these epic strivings." [8]

Implicit in the concept of a whole thinking-acting-feeling person striving to maintain continuity in interaction with others is the idea that all learnings are social in nature. All are social in the sense that the value of any learning derives from its contribution to a realistic and effective orientation to humane living.

Developmental Phases Affect Social Learnings

Implied in the phrase, "his own developing habits of thinking-feeling-acting," is a well-established principle of growth: that the growing child follows inner laws of development which determine his potentialities for significant interaction with his world of people, things and ideas. Observations in child development have shown how a child ordinarily reacts during different phases of growth. To these observations, studies of the psychodynamics of development have added insights which suggest the why of such behavior. It is the *why* which lies back of the familiar statement, "All behavior is caused." Behavior, of course, is complex and the causes underlying it are exceedingly complex and often elusive. However, to give the child real aid in acquiring the learnings needed for successful social living one must seek to know, as the definition suggests, what behaviors are natural to the phase of development through which the child is passing. Such knowledge provides clues for structuring situations so he can have the interactions he needs for acquiring social learnings which are effective now.

Uniqueness of Growth Patterns Affects Social Learnings

The words, "his own," in the definition, are significant for several reasons. First, though there is a common growth pattern through which all children grow, each has his unique variation of that particular pattern. While all will grow outward to interact with more people, explore more time and space, develop more highly integrated and differentiated meanings, each will do so in accordance with the timing of his organism. Each has his own speed and rhythm of growth. One develops in rapid spurts with pauses in between; while another

[8] Harold H. and Gladys L. Anderson. "Social Development." *Manual of Child Psychology*. Edited by Leonard Carmichael. Second edition. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1954, p. 1173. See also Gordon W. Allport, *Becoming*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955, p. 35, in which the author concludes: "All his life long this being will be attempting to reconcile these two modes of becoming, the tribal and the personal: the one that makes him into a mirror, the other that lights the lamp of individuality within."

develops at a slower, fairly even pace. No two are alike; no two can find identical meanings in what, to the observer, seems a similar experience.

Uniqueness of Experiences Affects Social Learning

A second reason why the words, "his own," are significant lies in the realm of personal-social experience. Children do their growing and, therefore, their learning in a world of people, ideas and things. Opportunity is an important factor influencing their learning. Some have chances to explore a wider social and physical world; some have more help in interpreting what they experience; some are physically more able to get about and probe into the world around them. The patterns of behavior they see, the values and standards they are expected to accept, the people with whom they interact all differ. As a result of these variations in experiences, the learnings of one child will be significantly different from those of another.

Social Learnings for Democratic Living

The comprehensive view of social learnings is child-in-society oriented. It is clear that a child grows and learns in a social setting. The value of his learnings depends upon their effectiveness in helping him function within the framework necessary for the continuance of his society.

In any society, the direction for socialization and its requisite social learnings is determined by the values the society holds, its concept of proper individual-society relationships. To consider social learnings peculiarly needed by children in our democratic society, it is helpful to examine the values and faiths that underlie democratic living.

Learnings Related to Respect for the Individual

In one respect, democracy is a rationalization of man's search for freedom, his urge to grow and realize his potentialities. It is a philosophy emphasizing the welfare and development of the individual. The basic tenet of democracy is *respect for the supreme worth and dignity of the human being.* The thinking-feeling-acting person, be he child or man, is the center of value in a democracy. All arrangements within the society, its institutions, processes, regulations and governmental forms, are for the purpose of enabling the individual to realize his potentialities and thus attain self-fulfillment. Arrangements are not meant to become ends in themselves, though they sometimes do be-

come so. In fact, it is one of the responsibilities of democratic citizenship to be ever alert that institutions and processes continue to serve man, rather than make him subservient to them.

Respect for the worth and dignity of the human being is not fully realized until:

1. *All* individuals are recognized as having unique worth and dignity, regardless of sex, origin, or other accidents of birth
2. *All* have equal rights before the law
3. *All* have a right to participate in whatever social arrangements will help each realize his own self-fulfillment.

In providing conditions which will allow different individuals to live in unity while exercising their rights to uniqueness, democracy becomes a process—a way of living, working and thinking together in which individually different people can integrate their likenesses and differences to improve the quality of living for each. As process, democracy demands concern for others, different in some ways but alike in their humanness and right to the "good life." Most of the decisions a person has to make call for an understanding of the other fellow's point of view, a willingness to examine it and judge it on its merits. Furthermore, to realize his own best self, an individual must possess this capacity to feel with and for others. Ideally, then, all institutions and processes of a democratic society should serve to foster the spirit of brotherhood, that men may have good will toward and concern for the well-being of one another.

It may be said that urgent tasks facing all who live in today's world are those of learning to feel with and for others, learning to communicate with others, and planning a better world for all. It may also be said that herein lie aspects of humane living which remain to be realized in broad dimensions.

Relating to self and others, then, is an area which involves social learnings needed by children growing up in a democratic society. Included are such learnings as: respect and confidence in oneself and others; concern for the common welfare; common loyalties; recognition of likenesses and differences; integration of differences to make a better pattern of living for all; respect for uniqueness; and, in general, bearing good feelings for oneself and others.

Such learnings are the mark of a democratically socialized person—one who trusts himself, his rights and feelings; but also trusts others, their rights and feelings. For him the general welfare so supersedes selfish interests that he finds it intolerable to seek his happiness at the expense of others.

Learnings Related to Freedom-Restraint

Belief in and protection of the individual's right to freedom is another basic value in a democratic society. Freedom is inherent in the concept of a man's right to grow to his fullest capacity. Throughout the years democracies have developed many "tangible supports" of freedom.[9] Through laws, constitutions, the Bill of Rights and other social controls, individuals have been guaranteed freedom of speech, assembly, worship and press. But constitutions, laws, civil rights do not enforce themselves. It is only as understanding, self-control and concern for others live in the hearts of men that freedom can exist.

One aspect of freedom is freedom of consent. In political terms, this refers to such rights as the right to vote, to be represented and to appeal. In democratic living it means many more things: the right to have a voice in policies which affect one, to have a choice in the responsibilities one will accept and the work one will do. In fact the idea that no person shall be forced into any situation or to live under any control without his having a voice in the matter is embodied in the principle of consent. This lays heavy responsibilities and a charge of constant vigilance upon the individual person. For, if consent is to strengthen democracy, it must be based upon choices made with full and accurate knowledge of the issues involved and the possible consequences of choices. This requires that alternatives be fairly and openly presented, that processes for full discussion and consensus be available and continually improved. All avenues of communication must be used responsibly with concern for the general welfare, rather than specific interests. Words and other symbols must be used in ways which do not cloud or confuse the minds of men. Semanticists and social scientists warn that this is an area in which freedom is in jeopardy today.

Another aspect of freedom is freedom to follow one's own purposes, to live a life dictated by personal needs, wishes and values. This, too, requires knowing possible choices and consequences of choices. It involves knowing what there is in the world to want and to do. It requires having many avenues of interests and activities open to people. Since one cannot follow out his purposes in isolation from other human beings, true freedom involves restraints which are inherent in the social situation. Each must follow his unique purposes within the limits of the social milieu. There enter problems of knowing whom to choose as a leader and why; whom to follow and when and why;

[9] Term used by George S. Counts in "The Intangible Supports of Liberty," *The Educational Forum* 20: 133-40; January 1956.

what authority to obey and why. To profit from freedom to follow one's purposes requires that one purpose wisely. This demands a constant search for new alternatives and new choices with the attendant responsibility of weighing them carefully.

A third aspect of freedom is freedom of association, which assures that one may join groups of his choice. This, too, is a freedom that has been abrogated in far too many cases in recent years, while people have watched with apathy or unconcern, or perhaps with no knowledge of the steps they might take to secure their heritage of freedom.

Just as individuals have their responsibilities as well as freedoms, so have groups. The basic supports of democracy wither if every voluntary group, association, political party, race, religious group or class is for itself without concern for the general welfare. Narrow, parochial interests are destructive of the very rights of equality, respect, liberty and participation which a democracy is pledged to uphold. In this connection, Bryson speaks of "spiritual pride," or the belief that a person whose sanctions differ from one's own cannot be quite righteous. It is a sort of "better than" complex. Recently there has been a dangerous amount of this attitude prevalent in the country. People who hold differing political, social or economic views have been regarded, all too frequently, as unpatriotic citizens.[10]

The spirit of choosing in the interests of the common welfare instead of narrow group interest is similar to what Counts calls "choosing in the public rather than private interest" and requires, in his words, "not the maintenance of things as they are, but a deep concern for the eradication of injustice, the achievement of equal opportunity for all, and the removal of everything that is mean and ugly in the common life." [11]

Freedom as known through democratic living is freedom restrained by conscience; it is freedom controlled by the just expectations of others; it is not freedom to do as one pleases with no thought of others; it is not anarchy, not laissez-faire living. The freedom which is truly democratic is based upon understanding of and concern for the needs and feelings of others. The basic ethical principle which promotes this ideal of freedom is, according to Bryson, that "we should use power on ourselves in order to curb and discipline our energies to good and never in the coercion of others." [12]

If children are to become persons able to use freedom responsibly,

[10] For an optimistic and constructive discussion of the American scene today and the place of education in extending the benefits of freedom, see Lyman Bryson, *The Drive Toward Reason*, New York: Harper and Brothers, College Dept., 1954.

[11] George S. Counts, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[12] Lyman Bryson, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

then certain social learnings must be the goal of the school. These learnings are closely related to those which were mentioned previously under relating to self and others. Without constructive feelings about self and others there is no foundation for learning to use freedom responsibly.

Among the many learnings involved in using freedom responsibly are the following: respecting one's own and others' opinions, ideas and forms of expression; being creative and responsible in one's use of symbols; looking for excellence in everyone; making value judgments and knowing their bases; disciplining oneself; working out the appropriate balance of freedom-restraint; keeping in balance other interrelated behaviors such as cooperation-competition, leadership-followership, majority-minority, dependence-independence; being selective in the authority with which one cooperates and knowing the bases upon which one chooses leaders and delegates responsibilities. Extremely crucial for the preservation of democracy today are (a) learning to use all avenues of communication responsibly, (b) choosing when and to whom to listen and knowing the reasons for the choice, and (c) thoughtfully evaluating all sources of communication.

Learnings Related to Faith in Shared Intelligence

Faith in human intelligence is another principle of democracy. It is revealed in respect for the method of reason and pooled judgment. The democratic faith holds that man can make reasoned choices, can and will judge sensibly, can recognize and face individual or group problems and solve them through intelligent action. There are both faith and hope that, through cooperative group action and problem solving, democracy can be continuously improved.

In a society which depends upon the good feelings of all its people and which is pledged to the optimum development of each individual, problem solving cannot be just any kind of problem solving. It must be so grounded in the context of group living that problems will be defined and resolved in terms of the needs and aspirations of all the people who are affected by the decisions which are made.

This principle of faith in human intelligence is inextricably intertwined with the two principles mentioned above. What applies to one applies to the other two. Repetition may serve to emphasize some concerns and responsibilities of those who are privileged to live in a society wherein their voices count. Before a person can make reasoned decisions he must have access to the knowledge and facts relevant to the problem he is facing. Today with the vast amount of human knowledge

available and the specialized nature of so much information upon which decisions must be based, people need to learn how to select various specialists upon whose judgments they can rely. They need to know and understand both human nature and the social forces which are affecting their lives.

Reliance upon the power of pooled intelligence requires that opportunities for discussion, for struggles between conflicting ideas and for reaching consensus in making reasoned choices be in the picture all of the time. It calls for constant and thoughtful evaluation of proposals, actions and results. It demands knowing when and why to change procedures or when to continue present practices and the reasons therefor.

Democracy is a demanding way of life and possibly one of the most arduous of the responsibilities laid upon its members is that they continually use their intelligence in cooperative endeavors to make the world a better place for all mankind.

Improving individual and group living through problem solving is another area which suggests significant social learnings for democratic living. Among them are: knowing the skills of individual and group problem solving; keeping intellectual curiosity alive; considering, exploring and using the points of view, opinions and ideas of others; seeking many alternatives and choosing among them; evaluating action and action-in-progress; and, most important of all, giving support to what one believes is right.

Summary. Democracy is both a philosophy emphasizing individual welfare and a process for working out self-other relationships. With its freedoms, it presents responsibilities. Important learnings for all who live in a democracy include learning to feel with and for oneself and others, respecting each person's right to realize his best self, learning to communicate in ways which are fair, honest and considerate of the rights of others, learning processes for resolving conflicts and solving individual and group problems, welcoming uniqueness and creativity—keeping all these deeply and firmly based upon democratic values.

A simple framework will serve to present the basic faiths which direct decision-making in a democracy:

The basic tenet:	respect for human personalities, regardless of age, sex, origin, or state of birth
The basic aim:	the optimum development of all; the achievement of good in the lives of everyone
The basic process:	the method of reasoned, creative, cooperative intelligence.

In Dewey's words, "It is not that these things [the capacities of human nature, human intelligence, and pooled and cooperative experience] are perfect, but given a show they will grow and be able to generate progressively the knowledge and wisdom needed to guide collective action." [18]

Social Learnings Related to Living in Today's World

Some who look upon the world situation today are forecasters of doom. They portend the ultimate destruction of all that is good and noble in man. Others see in this period of rapid change and many crises an opportunity for man to find a greater self in a wider communion with and concern for his fellow man. It is not necessary to take either position in order to determine a direction for socializing democracy's children. It is necessary to recognize that there are problems of grave import facing both the children and those responsible for helping them make progress in socialization.

Expansion of Self-Other Relationships

What is this world like—this world that is the only world our children have ever known? It is a highly interdependent world which is swiftly becoming more integrated in its industrialization. It is a world where rapid means of communication and transportation increase awareness of our interdependence. Industrialism, speedy communication and transportation serve to make people live a highly mobile life. Through economic activities, through movement from place to place, through media of communication, people are brought ever more closely together. In their togetherness they are brought face to face with problems which cannot be resolved without giving thought to all people concerned. People who differ in their values, their feelings and their ways of relating to others, are forced to live and work together in today's world.

To do this at all effectively, people must learn to live with and respect differences, know which differences can and cannot be tolerated, understand themselves and know the values upon which they base their actions. They must also be creative in their approaches to problems, for they will be faced with problems which are so new and so unforeseen that old and familiar answers will not suffice. Strength and courage to live with others and face the problems of

[18] John Dewey. *Education Today*. Edited by Joseph Ratner. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940. p. 339. Copyright by John Dewey, 1940.

this interrelated world will come from good feelings about self and others, knowledge of procedures which enable people to work things out cooperatively and faith in the method of pooled intelligence.

Contacts with a World of Wide Dimensions

This is a world that does not wait for the child to take easy steps in mastering the ways of his immediate environment and the people around him. Through radio, TV, conversation of adults, the people he meets, and his excursions in airplane and automobile, the child is immersed in a wide world at a very young age. His growing meanings, his ideas of the ways people should behave, the environment which he can call to mind are all affected by these contacts with a world of wider time-space dimensions than his immediate community. Long before he has had a chance to learn that people can work out their differences amicably with good feelings still remaining, he may learn from TV that you can make a person into what you want him to be simply by calling him so. Or he may learn that haranguing and screaming are the ways to win your point. To offset some of these learnings, children need many opportunities to work through their differences in groups where the other fellow's feelings and opinions are respected. They need teachers who use the meanings a child has developed as bases for planning his school experiences.

Increasing Mechanization

In many aspects this is an impersonal, mechanical world wherein much of one's life may be termed a push-button existence. Many children show great concern over the care of mechanical equipment because they live in this kind of world. Without help and carefully graded experience they may not learn to show such great concern with humans. Today's children need much help in learning that things don't happen just because you will it so by pushing a button. More than ever, we are told, children need close contact with living things, with the natural world so they may know the timing of growing things and the qualities of materials in the natural world. Psychiatrists believe that one thing that will give meaning to life in a mechanical, highly industrialized world of increasing automation is close, warm, friendly human relations within which one can truly find himself.

Changes in Work-Leisure Relationships

This is a world in which increasing mechanization and automation are making it less and less necessary for people to spend time making the material things of life. It is, then, a world in which people will

have to find themselves and the deeper meanings of life in the activities which are usually referred to as leisure or play activities. Puritanical morality makes it difficult for the older generation to see that time spent for greater self-fulfillment is time that adds to the quality of living for the individual and so for the community. Children do not see a sharp differentiation between work and play, unless adults, with lack of foresight, force such a differentiation upon them. To live in a world that requires less of human effort to provide material goods, children will need to play and work with others in ways that help each find personally satisfying pursuits. Work-play should remain in nice relationship with good feelings permeating the conditions under which each carries out his activities. This will require imagination, creativity and eternal vigilance lest what starts out to be a personally satisfying experience end in a controlled endeavor wherein all standards are set outside the individual.

David Riesman and his associates speak of work-leisure competence. In a search for means of enabling man to maintain autonomy in today's culture, they suggest that play can become the sphere in which the autonomous man can build skill and competence in the art of living, thus reclaiming "his individual character from the pervasive demands of his social character." He needs two kinds of play, they believe: (a) play that is reverie-filled, fantasy-rich and private, and (b) play that is sociable, even ceremonial. They warn of the danger of standardization, either by peers, commercial interests, or mass media of communication. When these last exert too strong an influence, especially when a leisure pursuit becomes too commercialized, "the roots of fantasy are torn up by a concern for sheer technique." [14]

Changes in Individual-Group Relationships

Another characteristic of today's world is that person-to-person contacts in economic life have been largely replaced by person-group or group-group relationships where large unions, associations, and other groups operate. Children growing up in such a world will need to learn how groups operate, what are the desirable individual-group relationships, how to select leaders, how to recognize autocrats and

[14] David Riesman, Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney. *The Lonely Crowd.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. 386 p. Chapters 14, 15. The authors define the autonomous as "those who on the whole are capable of conforming to the behavior norms of their society . . . but are free to choose whether to conform or not." (p. 278) Autonomy as used by these writers corresponds to Fromm's "productive orientation." See Erich Fromm, *Man for Himself,* New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1947.

demagogues among leaders, what processes help a group move forward and how individuals protect their rights in groups.

Challenges to Democracy

Today democracy stands challenged both at home and abroad. At no time in the nation's history has there been more urgent need for children to acquire the learnings which enable them to preserve and extend their heritage of freedom. Through living democratically, through bringing the constituent elements and values of democracy to a level of awareness, our children must be helped to know what it is they cherish and how to preserve and advance democracy. At the same time they must learn about other ideologies. They can hardly protect democracy in crass ignorance of what democracy means or of what rival ideologies are. The process seems to be to learn democracy through living it, to verbalize its meaning, and finally to learn what others' experiences with it have been.

The need to support and strengthen democracy is great in this day when the United States stands as champion of Man's right to a life of liberty. Demands which are rightfully made upon our citizens have been clearly stated by Johnson:

> If we want democracy to survive we must love it more, we must make it more intelligent, more capable of knowing who its enemies are, more conscious of its basic meaning, less open to attack with the weapons of apathy and cynicism. We must be possessed of a great emotion: a great devotion to the right of everyone to be his best self—to live in the light of the acutest self-awareness.[15]

Summary. It is critically necessary that all growing up in our society today become more aware of democracy's meanings, learn how to live according to its principles and recognize the threats to freedom and democracy which they face today. Those who wish to maintain and advance democracy must:

Learn to feel with and for others
Be for themselves without being against others
Find steadiness and courage in human association
Know the values upon which action is based
Find support in the knowledge of ways of working with others to solve problems that are not yet clearly seen
Be both creative and circumspect in approaches to new and troublesome problems
Use the past for the light it sheds on present problems and perplexities

[15] Earl S. Johnson. *Theory and Practice of the Social Studies.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1956. p. 97. By permission of the Macmillan Company.

Be flexible enough to change procedures, when necessary, and to keep institutions working in the interests of a greater democracy

Be flexible enough to work with those who have different value orientations

Be aware of the enemies and destroyers of liberty

Finally and above all, be judicious in relationships with others. Judiciousness, in this context, refers to a frame of mind that is accepting of differences, circumspect in thought and action, and withal capable of faith and indignation.

Interrelation of Healthy Personality Development and Social Learnings

Adults have much to learn and much to unlearn, if they are to become actively engaged in perpetuating democracy and expanding the areas in which good human relations exist. But it is with children that the schools are directly concerned. Teachers must start with children where they are, be guided by their growth and developmental needs, study their developing personalities and help them meet the requirements of social living through human relations which can give them, in Frank's terms, "orderly, peaceful, private worlds." [16]

Importance of Healthy Personality Development

Recent findings indicate that those who decry the poor citizenship of the younger generation, along with those who have faith in the young and want to help them learn to live democratically in today's world, must make all possible arrangements for healthy personality development. Evidence points to the fact that the quality of one's citizenship is built within the human personality through the quality of his living in association with others.

Learnings such as knowledge that is accurate and unbiased, skill in obtaining reliable information and understanding of man's past achievements, while important and not to be minimized, function only in the lives of people. The relationships which build personalities will determine whether or not the youth of this land will have the self-confidence, the mutuality of concern, and the courageous and creative approach to living which mark the democratic citizen. Good citizenship starts in the cradle. Those who would promote it must concern themselves with the development and functioning of children's personalities.

[16] Lawrence K. Frank. *Society as the Patient.* New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1948. p. 262.

A Framework for Viewing Personality Development

A cursory overview of the process of personality development will highlight some factors which should be known by all who influence the social learnings of children.[17]

According to an analysis of personality development based upon psychological theory and knowledge from the fields of child development and cultural anthropology, the growing child is confronted with a succession of personal-social conflicts which must be resolved favorably in order for him to add needed components to his personality. If the conflict is resolved fortuitously, the child will move forward with good feelings and confidence in himself and others and in his ability to master the ways of the world. He will be *free* to *become* that which his potentialities and his surrounding environment permit. Interpersonal relations play a major role in determining the outcome of the child's struggles. What he needs from important adults are approval, support, encouragement and freedom to follow his laws of development.[18]

The following table presents the conflicts which are part of growing up and the periods of a child's life at which each becomes dominant. In each case, the positive aspect is italicized:

1. *Trust*-mistrust	infancy
2. *Autonomy*-shame or doubt	toddlerhood
3. *Initiative*-guilt	early childhood
4. *Industry*-inferiority	later childhood
5. *Identity*-role diffusion	early adolescence.

[17] The meaning of personality in this discussion is that presented in the report of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth: "Personality is the thinking, feeling, acting human being who, for the most part, conceives of himself as an individual separate from other individuals and objects. This human being doesn't *have* a personality; he *is* a personality. . . . What we are really talking about in discussing health of personality is the concrete human being and the relative success of his endeavor to play his part in relation to other human beings and to the institutions through which social life is carried on." Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

[18] This material represents a sketchy and superficial treatment of the subject. The purpose of including the material is to indicate the importance of considering social learnings within the framework of personality development.

The point of view here advanced is the authors' interpretation of materials presented in three references: (a) Erik H. Erikson. *Childhood and Society.* New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1950. Erikson proposes the framework for the personal-social conflicts in his "Eight Stages of Man." The last three—intimacy-isolation; generativity-stagnation; and ego integrity-despair—are not discussed in this paper. (b) Helen L. Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, editors. *Personality in the Making.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. Their report is organized around a slight revision of Erikson's developmental outline. (c) Millie Almy. *Child Development.* New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1955. Dr. Almy draws upon Erikson's theory in presenting the psycho-dynamic aspects of development.

According to the theory, these problems are not faced and resolved, for better or worse, at just one period of life. They are always present. But the effort to develop one of these components of personality appears in clearest form during a certain period.

As the positive aspect is incorporated into the child's concept of self, it becomes a bulwark for future development. However, none is a permanent achievement; throughout life, experiences can either strengthen or shatter earlier victories. Nor is there any perfection in life, except by definition. No one, for instance, would trust everybody, or his own capacities, or the outer world wholly and unquestioningly. In fact, the realities of existence call for a certain amount of judicious mistrust. What is needed during each period is a balance on the positive side.

The component of trust. The first social achievement, *trust,* which starts in infancy, is believed to be the primary element in personality development and the seat of good feelings about self and others. The feelings are fostered by warm, accepting relationships and consistency in the behavior of those who care for the infant. Important also is the regulation of demands to what he is biologically prepared to do. The baby who receives the needed care and warm relationships has the groundwork to advance to the next struggle armed with good feelings about himself and others and a sense of regularity in the outer world.

The component of independence. Throughout the second period in personality development the child will be striving to develop *a sense of autonomy.* He will struggle to assure himself and the important people in his life that he is an individual in his own right. What he must learn is exactly what he is trying to assure himself: that he can do things on his own, that he can make some choices that are truly his own. From the adults in his life he needs continued trust and affection in the midst of a change in relationships. The change entails allowing him to do for himself, to use his growing powers to explore a wider world. It also entails standing behind him in his efforts and helping him gradually to discriminate between what he can and cannot do. During this period he needs to learn to heed a clear, consistent and reasonable "no" used to prohibit those activities which he cannot sensibly be left free to do on his own.

When adults stand behind him and give approval for his efforts to use his new powers and make some choices of his own, the child experiences a sense of inner and outer goodness which adds mightily to his basic trust in himself, in others, and in his capacity to master the ways of the world. Now in the company of other children and adults he can find out what a person like himself can *do.*

The component of initiative. The push to develop a sense of *initiative* comes at a time when the child is, if all has gone well, a ready and avid learner, eager to use all his developing powers to become one with the world. Spurred on by an intense curiosity, aided by all his distance senders and receivers he eagerly tests his growing powers. By running and jumping and falling and rolling and doing all the wonderfully exciting things a person like himself can do, he learns. Those who can see and hear as they live with children have learned that the play and phantasy and work of young children cannot be nicely differentiated. All are the engrossing activities through which the child becomes at home in the world, learning its properties and building confidence in himself and others, as with these others he explores ways of dealing with the world and discovers what he can do.[19]

Socialization moves on apace during this period. The child learns about his social world, its institutions and processes and finds out much about people by playing their roles. That is, from the point of view of the adult, children are playing roles. To young children, usually, this is in no sense the case. The small child is not, from his point of view, *playing* pilot—he *is* the pilot.

Other children enter importantly into his life, adding dimensions to his learning or creating threats to his own feelings of importance and power. This is a time when there must be on hand a trusted grown-up to whom the child can repair when the tensions created by the challenges of age-mates become too great.

Throughout, a child's learnings will be greatly affected by the family and cultural groups to which he belongs. The expectations of adults, the ways in which they attempt to control his behavior, the guidance and encouragement they give and the models they set for his imitation—all importantly influence his learning.

This is a period when the child has the beginnings of a conscience to guide him in his activities. It is likewise a period when an overstrict conscience can cause great distress and sometimes overwhelming feelings of guilt.

[19] Erikson's proposal in this connection is particularly pertinent: "The playing adult steps sideward," he says, "into another reality; the playing child advances forward into new stages of mastery. I propose the theory that the child's play is the infantile form of the human ability to deal with experience by creating model situations and to master reality by experiment and planning. It is in certain phases of his work that the adult projects past experience into dimensions which seem manageable. . . . He anticipates the future from the point of view of a corrected and shared past.

"No thinker can do more and no playing child less." See Erik H. Erikson, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

The problem for the adults, while the child is striving to develop a sense of initiative, is one of exercising nice discrimination concerning freedom-restraint. The child has to build within himself a sense of his powers and the rightness of his ways of doing things. Without some choices and opportunities to carry through the tasks he initiates on his own, this cannot be done. On the other hand he has to be protected from too impulsive a use of his energies lest he run into danger or suffer feelings of guilt.

When helped to do what *he* can do and not held to some outer, adult-imposed standard, his meanings become clearer. They become more fully incorporated into the inner core of his being. He learns to look upon himself as a "can-doer," one who can venture forth on his own and not be shamed when, for instance, he's jumping four inches while someone else jumps a foot. In addition to plenty of opportunities to try things out on his own, he needs encouragement and support when he has been unsuccessful or has undertaken something beyond his capacities.

If he is fairly successful, he will have learned to initiate activities, set goals and persevere in achieving them. It is worth noting that these important social learnings are built within the child, not because someone on the outside told him this was a good way to behave, or read him a story about the desired behaviors. They are built because the child has lived through experiences in which he has felt within himself what it is like to try something on his own, to follow through and to achieve.

The component of achievement. At about the age of six—earlier for some, later for others—and continuing throughout the years of the elementary school for most, children are busily engaged in establishing a sense of *industry* and accomplishment. Now is the time when the child welcomes real achievement—achievement which has meaning in his society. He is a great realist and wants to know if "it's really so" or it "really happened" or it "really worked." Small wonder that he turns to his peers. Who else can know the world as he knows it? Who else can master the world as he masters it? Peers are wonderful participants in the process of acquiring new knowledge and skills, in helping one feel secure in asserting increasing independence from adults, in helping one work out codes of cooperation, fair play and other rules of the social game.

As the child achieves more independence he needs more ability to make disciplined use of freedom. He needs a conscience which functions more flexibly than the young child's; that is, he needs a con-

science which permits him to determine behavior according to the situation. If he has learned to follow instructions blindly, he may find himself unable to exercise any judgment as to which values are appropriate in the various situations in which he finds himself. Conversely, he must have accepted restrictions of his impulses to the extent that he can grant privileges to others. If he has known too inconsistent guidance or too few prohibitions, he may be in a worse position than the child who is hemmed in by an overstrict conscience. He may be "much more the creature of his impulses, much less able to channel, control, and direct them in a way increasingly satisfactory not only to himself and to his peers, but to the society of which he is a member." [20]

Difficulties arise if he fails to see himself and his abilities as acceptable or if parents and teachers cannot accept the childish rebellion which is sure to come when, with his peers, he moves to affirm his independence from adults.

The problem throughout the period is how to become an achiever with his abilities and limitations. The way he sees things, the way he feels about himself, the way he believes people feel about a person like himself, are the reality with which he deals. They count far more than do objective facts in building his feelings about himself and others and in determining his orientation to the world.

The component of identity. Though most children in the elementary school will be in the period of later childhood, it is well, for purposes of continuity in the picture, to look briefly at the next phase of personality development.

As the growing child moves into puberty and adolescence, he is confronted with the task of establishing an *identity,* of determining just who and what he is and what his place in society is. He also has to learn to accept and live with a changing body. All these concerns cause some youngsters a great deal of anxiety and uncertainty. Young adolescents in our country seem to seek their assurance through being solidly "in" with a peer group.

According to Almy,[21] those who have not established autonomy or initiative seem to have particular difficulty. She believes that much depends upon the nature of interpersonal relations, and how the youth has learned to live with himself. "If, as he grows up, he is able to keep in touch with his emotions, to know that he is angry and at whom, that he is afraid and of what, that he feels warmly and positively,

[20] Millie Almy, *op. cit.,* p. 345.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 457.

then he is at adolescence in a better position to know his changing self and to make decisions that are 'right' for it."

Relationship of components to democratic socialization. Emerging insights on personal-social development reveal close affinity between the components of personality development and a successful orientation to democratic living. The four components of trust, independence, initiative, and industry, which are strengthened or developed during the years a child spends in the elementary school, are achievements highly prized by a democratic society.

Trust, the first social achievement, lays the groundwork for a life of friendliness and cooperation with others, as well as a belief in oneself and in regularity in the outer world. Autonomy brings a sense of personal dignity, as well as ability to control one's impulses and feel comfortable about oneself. These are indispensable attributes for a cooperative life which is dedicated to the enhancement of each individual. Initiative, the will to try things out on one's own, to make one's own choices, and learn by the consequences, is the very essence of democratic living. It is, in fact, the process through which democracy builds selves.

Industry and its accompaniments, a sense of duty and accomplishment, are achievements which give confidence that one can master the ways of the world and make things work for the betterment of people—essentials for a successful orientation to democratic living.

All of these components, which can best be developed in childhood, are crucially needed by the children who will be called upon to maintain and advance democracy during the last half of the twentieth century. But no child will automatically and necessarily build within himself these important elements of effective social living. He needs encouragement and guidance, opportunities to explore his environment of people, ideas and things, and help in interpreting his experience. He needs good sense and sound decision-making on the part of the important adults in his life. This requires that their expectations and means of control be geared to his particular timing and ways of growing. Then, in the midst of warm interpersonal relations, he can have a good chance to grow and learn without experiencing mistrust, overwhelming feelings of self-blame, guilt or inadequacy. He and he alone does the growing; he and he alone does the learning, but conditions in the environment must be propitious, else he cannot approximate his potential growth. Most significant of all in the environment will be the interpersonal relations he experiences and the pictures they give him of himself and others.

The School's Role in Fostering Democratic Social Learnings

A child starts his socialization with his early interactions in an environment of people. The process continues throughout his life, wherever he is.

Unique Role of the School

While responsibility for social education is shared by the home and other institutions and agencies, the schools have a specific charge. The school is the institution established to assure the continuance of democracy by helping the young acquire the common values, ideals, sensitivities and behaviors needed for social living. The school is expected to help the young become increasingly competent in using intelligently the communication tools, the institutions and processes of democracy. The school is expected to help the child move into ever widening frames of reference, expanding his awareness of people and encompassing ever more time and space in his thinking and problem solving.

Overview of the School's Task

New perspectives on social learning show that the problem of developing democratic values and behavior is not the simple one of teaching some specific subject matter or developing some specific skill. We know, as never before, that we must start with children and respect their purposes and meanings if truly democratic personalities are to be nurtured and educated in our schools. Children, through growth and experience, perceive a world of ever wider social, temporal and spatial relationships. Schools can nurture this process by utilizing the purposes of the growing child, helping him become more and more able to master intelligently the ways of the world.

If schools are to produce young people who can cooperate as intelligent and informed citizens in coping with the problems of world citizenship in a rapidly changing technological world, then they must cherish each period of childhood and youth for the contribution it can make to the growth of sound personalities oriented toward living in harmony with others.

The outline of personal-social achievements has indicated how precious and crucial are the years of childhood for the development of healthy personalities. The potentialities for acquiring a sense of trust, autonomy, initiative and industry are inherent in the strivings of the young child. But none of these potentialities, none of the child's

strivings to relate to his world of people, none of his strivings to explore and understand the world around him can result in wholesome growth and socially useful learnings *unless* the environment is "propitious." Propitious, as used here, describes an environment in which the interpersonal relations, expectations for behavior, opportunities for exploring the natural and social world, and the materials available are so related to the child's needs and purposes that he can select from the environment the ingredients *he* needs for his growth and learning.

The school, of all the institutions in society, is the one place where the environment can be specially structured with the needs of children and the demands of their society in mind. The school can attempt to filter out those learnings which are inimical to the child's best development and society's goals. The school can plan an environment in which positive learnings are reinforced and expanded; it can plan to counteract negative learnings.

The school can, should and *must* marshal its forces in the interests of providing an environment in which confidence in and good feelings about self and others abound. These feelings then furnish the matrix within which other learnings develop. The school must provide an environment which encourages and permits children to explore an increasingly wider world zestfully, confidently, intelligently and creatively.

None of the talk about democracy, none of the emphasis upon the demanding role of the school are more than empty words unless and until we can learn how to provide an environment wherein each uniquely different child can find the relationships, materials, help and encouragement he needs to enable him to take next steps forward in his growth.

If the school environment is to provide opportunities for each child, then the schools, in most cases, must accept individual differences more wholeheartedly and more comprehensively than has been their wont. Individual differences must be acknowledged and cherished until they become something more than conversational pieces or causes for despair. If the environment is to help *children* grow and learn, then there must be a deep and pervasive respect for children, their natural thrust for growth, their purposes and changing needs. If the environment is to be truly productive of improvement in democratic social learnings and personality development, then teachers must have both the opportunity and desire to experiment and share results because there is much to be learned about procedures which best help children to organize their energies in socially useful ways.

In the next chapter attention is given to the interrelationships of environment and social learnings. In examining the interrelationships, several sources of knowledge are utilized: theories which are based upon research and wide acquaintance with children; the judicious, careful and insightful observation of people well-versed in human development and the ways in which children grow; and research studies, including both controlled and action research.

• II •

Interrelationships of Environment and Social Learnings

STUDY of healthy personality development indicates that, regardless of hereditary equipment, a child is critically dependent upon his environment, especially his human environment, for his growth and learning. To differentiate factors which make an environment propitious for democratic learnings, it is pertinent to examine the nature of individual-environment interaction and elements in the environment which inhibit or facilitate the development of healthy personalities and democratic social learnings.

Individual-Environment Interaction

Between an individual and his environment there is a reciprocal relationship which has been well delineated by Burton:

> Heredity and environment are reciprocal elements in a dynamic, unitary process of interaction. The individual contributes his organismic pattern of growth potentials and capacities. The environment supplies situations in which growth potentials are expressed. Interaction results in growth and learnings.
>
> . . . [The individual's] inherited potentials . . . [are] capable of development into thousands of actualities through interaction with the environment. Heredity sets some limits as to what an individual *can* do and be; environment determines in some measure what he *will* do and be.[1]

Though all children, except the most acutely deprived, possess almost unknown possibilities for development and learning, there is rather universal agreement that no particular individual has ever realized his full hereditary potentials. This belief, coupled with the democratic faith, challenges adults to provide environments in which children will be encouraged and enabled to grow toward their optimum potentials.

[1] William H. Burton. *The Guidance of Learning Activities.* Second edition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952. p. 172.

Driven by his biosocial and psychological needs, any child will seek in his environment an opportunity to satisfy his purposes. Environmental conditions may support the child and make his ways of seeking his ends socially effective. They may give rise to further purposes which strengthen his growth and add to his positive relationships with his world. On the contrary, environmental conditions may thwart a child's purposes and inhibit the satisfaction of his natural drives, giving rise to such negative learnings as uneasiness about his human nature's insistence that he seek to exercise his growing capacities, mistrust of self, uncertainty in his relationships with others, and timid, fearful, or otherwise inadequate approaches to the outer world.

In any event, each child will seek continuous interaction between self and environment and will respond to self-environment interaction with feelings, concepts, and values.

There are, according to Hopkins, ". . . three basic ingredients to this process of growing and learning: (1) the capacity to learn . . . to become a unique individual, (2) the surrounding environment or culture which [the child] uses to develop his capacities, and (3) the processes by which he uses his environmental materials to develop his maturing behavior." [2]

Components of the Environment

Outer environment. There are scores of conditions and influences which comprise the environment in which a child grows and learns. Some are components of the outer or external environment which some writers refer to as the not-self environment or the world of externality. It includes natural, human, and cultural factors.

Importantly conditioning, though not wholly determining, many of a child's activities and much of his learning is the *natural environment.* His learnings will be influenced by his own direct experiences in the world of nature, by what other people tell him about it, by their reactions to his explorations in the natural environment, and by his use of reading and other audio-visual media.

Both direct and vicarious contacts with the natural environment contribute to a child's knowledge, influence his feelings of competence, and his orientation to the world in which he lives. Anthropologists conclude that the natural environment also contributes to personal characteristics. Rasey and Menge note that:

. . . anthropologists speak of the fiercer qualities of the mountain groups over those of similar blood who are native to plains. Fisher folk appear to

[2] L. Thomas Hopkins. *The Emerging Self in Home and School.* New York: Harper and Brothers, College Dept., 1954. p. 53.

develop specialized qualities associated with the changefulness of the sea and the ever-present hazards it presents. Gray misty tracts like the Aleutians and the long-night areas in polar regions make their mark upon the outlook of their peoples. It is the outlook, rather than that which is looked out upon, that determines the values assigned to what is seen.[3]

Granted that the natural environment influences personal characteristics, it does not affect people uniformly. There are vast differences among the individuals of any group. Other environmental conditions contribute to the development and characteristics of the people.

Of all the environing conditions, the *human environment* comprises the most pervasive and most decisive factors. It is through people—what they do to, for, and with him—that a child learns who and what he is, what he can do, what he should strive for. It is through people and their responses to his strivings that the child gains his basic orientation to life. Rasey and Menge contend that the most crucial aspect of the human environment is "the philosophies [people] operate upon, the constellation of values that trigger their actions." [4]

A child's first interactions are with the members of the family group and their ideas, values, beliefs and behaviors. It is through his interactions with family members, especially the mother, that he first forms his self-image. Within the family group he receives his initial orientation to organized society. Here he gains many of his learnings about how a group can and should live and work together. Many of his beliefs about and reactions to authority stem from the way in which authority is exercised within the home. Because he continues to live within the family group while moving into wider social horizons, the family maintains a strong and continuing influence upon his learnings.

The family introduces the child to the wider society with its social, economic and political arrangements. It does this, in part, by reflecting within the context of family living the meanings family members have gained from experiences in religious, civic, economic and other groups outside the family circle. In addition, the family introduces the child to the wider society by encouraging, explaining and interpreting his experiences therein.

As the child grows and moves into a wider community, he finds more people with whom to relate and from whom to learn. Family members beyond the immediate home circle, people in the neighborhood, children in the peer group become important humans affecting

[3] Marie I. Rasey and J. W. Menge. *What We Learn from Children.* New York: Harper and Brothers, College Dept., 1956. p. 23.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

a child's learning. By his expanding forays into the world of people, whether through direct contacts or by vicarious means, his learnings are continuously influenced.

The *cultural environment* of the groups with which he interacts affects the learnings a child acquires from his experiences in both his natural and social world. Culture, in this context, includes a group's ways of living and acting as it seeks to meet the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, and human interaction. Tools and techniques, patterns of social organization, institutions, processes for conducting group life, the common customs, values and beliefs are facets of the cultural heritage which a group presents to its members.

Cultural influences are brought to bear upon the child as he interacts with people and their outlook upon life. Witmer and Kotinsky illustrate the influence of a cultural group upon the meanings a child attaches to phenomena in the natural world by differentiating between the meanings thunderheads convey to a Hopi and another American child.

> To the Hopi, thunderheads are a favorable omen; they portend rain for the corn, around which Hopi life in an arid land, revolves. To [other] Americans, thunderheads are more likely to mean electricity, weather forecasts, danger to the stock, protecting finery.
>
> The meanings are different because each child has been interacting with a different cultural environment. In response to the meaning thunderhead has for him, each of these two children acts differently. . . .[5]

Considering the complexity of American life and the many groups with which a child has experience, it is obvious that there is no such thing as *the* environment of an American child. His interactions are with a multiplicity of environmental conditions and influences, all of which are greatly extended, for most children, through the means of communication and transportation prevalent throughout the country.

Inner environment. Operating in all interactions is the self-environment, as well as conditions and influences in the outer environment. The self- (or inner) environment includes all that is self-contained. Not only the vital mechanisms of the living child but his feelings, interests, concerns and purposes as well, are aspects of the inner environment. Interaction involves an interplay or flowing between inner and outer environments, in the course of which both are subjected to change.

Influence upon learnings. The flow between inner and outer environments has a correlative influence upon a child's learning, which has been nicely described by Frank:

[5] Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, editors. *Personality in the Making.* New York: Harper and Brothers, College Dept., 1952. p. 234.

The degree to which the child accepts and takes over . . . lessons is determined by the way he understands them, by what they mean to him, and above all, by the way he feels toward the people who have imposed, demanded, coerced, or punished him, and explained things. He develops his own "private world" which is always more or less like the common public world, but is always different, always idiomatic. Thus, every child develops a highly personalized, individualized version of basic cultural patterns and of social participation.[6]

Frank's statement brings to the fore two decisive factors affecting a child's social learnings: (a) the selective nature of a child's learning, and (b) the quality of his interpersonal relations.

Selective Interaction

Selective interaction is a basic process through which children acquire their learnings. Early in life a child becomes a selective agent, operating in his own behalf in relation to his external environment. He actively reaches out, sometimes accepting, sometimes rejecting, but always changing what is available in the environment to suit his purposes, whenever he is in interaction with any phase of his environment. An explanation of the process, offered by Murphy, is that the "individual selects from the stimulus field what is appropriate to the value system, the symbolic system, and the self system, and he develops a means of making himself impervious to disturbing and unassimilable features of the environment, but as long as we stay within manageable limits the organism will make of its environment something which is relevant to itself." [7]

Selection is a concomitant of the thrust for growth, the urge to utilize developing powers which is inherent in human life. Children want to learn at their proper levels; they do strive to remain in harmony within and without. Given half a chance, they will, as Hopkins says, "select from the external environment materials to make over into new materials with which to build and maintain structure and develop the new behaviors necessary for complete living." [8]

Macfarlane and others, in a report of a longitudinal study of the behavior problems of normal children between 21 months and 14 years, give recognition to the growing child's continuous struggle to select the behaviors required for social living. In concluding the report, they write:

[6] Lawrence K. Frank. *Personality and Culture.* Danville, Illinois: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1949. p. 12.

[7] Gardner Murphy. *Personality, A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. p. 730.

[8] L. Thomas Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 53-54.

May we pay our respects to the adaptive capacity of the human organism, born in a very unfinished and singularly dependent state into a highly complex and not too sensible world. Unless handicapped by inadequate structure and health and impossible and capricious learning situations, he threads his way to some measure of stable and characteristic patterning. We see, even in the raw frequency figures presented in this report, the variety of coping devices he uses for his complex set of tasks. He starts out with overt expression of his needs and feelings and attempts immediate and direct solutions to his problems. Many of his overt and direct problem-solving attempts are not tolerated, so he learns when necessary to side-step, to evade, to withdraw, to get hurt feelings and, also, to submit overtly even while his releases and problem-solving continue internally until controls are established. If he is under fairly stable and not too discontinuous pressures and secures enough approval and support to continue his learning and enough freedom to work out his own compromise overt-covert solutions, he becomes . . . "socialized," and even without this optimum combination, he frequently arrives at stable maturity. When we look at the hazards of the course, we are not sure that we have begun to understand how or why.[9]

Inner Selection

One facet of selective interaction is inner selection. From his experiences, the child selects feelings about himself and others, meanings about his outer world, ideas about ways of operating in his further interactions. These become organized and integrated with previous learnings, structuring his patterns of behavior.

Outer Selection

A second facet of selective interaction is outer selection. Obviously, no child can interact with all the influences operative in the outer environment. When a child is able to use his sense organs and his locomotor, manipulative and language powers to interact with the outer environment, of necessity, he must select among the many events, things, ideas, and interpersonal relationships available to him. He makes his selections both consciously and unconsciously.

Factors Influencing Selection

Selection is determined by the relationships among a child's purposes, the meanings he has acquired from previous experiences, and what is available in the environment.

Meaning and purpose. Witmer and Kotinsky explain the interrelationship of meaning and purpose and its effect upon selective

[9] Jean W. Macfarlane and others. *A Developmental Study of the Behavior Problems of Normal Children Between 21 Months and 14 Years.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954. p. 220-21.

interaction. They state that "following his purposes, [the child] builds meanings into his life, and these meanings become a selective influence shaping his further purposes and the new meanings he acquires in the course of his further experiences." [10]

Perception. Interrelated with purpose and meaning is the phenomenon of perception, which Kelley and Rasey see as the key link between an individual and his surroundings. According to their analysis, when stimuli reach the nervous system, they are brought into consciousness and the individual perceives something which more or less resembles what is present in externality. The actual perception rests within the individual. It derives from the organization and interpretation he makes in the light of his meanings and purposes. What he acts upon is not what is objectively present in externality but his interpretation of it.

According to the Kelley and Rasey interpretation, perception is necessarily unique to the individual perceiving. Experiences come about through action and the powers of perception. Therefore, experiences, too, are unique to the individual undergoing them. In this sense, an individual actually selects his own experiences. Experiences are what his perceptions, influenced by his purposes and meanings, permit them to be. The authors state that "it is the uniqueness of perception which controls experience." [11]

Sullivan also emphasized the uniqueness of experience. He said:

> Experience is not the same as the event in which the organism participates; when I look at and see a frog, my experience of the frog—my perception of the frog—is not the frog . . . there is a relatively "outer" object, giving rise to something which "puts me in contact with" it . . . and there is a very complex, relatively private or "inner" bundle of changes of state here or there . . . which results in the percept. Nothing in the present state of our acquaintance with the universe suggests any necessary correspondence between the perceived characteristics of a course of events like frog and the ultimate "real" characteristics of this course of events.[12]

Availability. From the analysis of self-environment interaction, it is obvious that a child's learnings will be influenced by availability. In this context, availability includes not only what is available in the outer environment but what the child's phase of growth and perception make available to him. If the environment is limited in oppor-

[10] Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[11] Earl C. Kelley and Marie I. Rasey. *Education and the Nature of Man.* New York: Harper and Brothers, College Dept., 1952. p. 22-41.

[12] Harry S. Sullivan. *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry.* New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1953. p. 26-27.

tunities and challenges for the child, his learnings reflect those limitations. If, on the other hand, the environment is rich in opportunities and challenges for him to exercise his capacities, his learnings will reflect the propitiousness of the environment. His feelings and behavior will be stable. He will feel a sense of inner goodness and rightness about his way of doing things; he will tend to feel friendly toward others and to feel confidence in his ways of mastering the world.

Interpersonal Environment and Negative Social Learnings

Desirable as it is that children develop good feelings about self and others, and a realistic and constructive orientation to the world at large, the interpersonal setting within which they grow and learn sometimes inhibits the development of such positive social learnings. There are situations in which a child's relationships with others are so discordant and unrelated to his needs as a developing person that he cannot build within himself the feelings, values, ideas and controls needed by a person who lives in a free society. Anxious as children are to become members in good standing in their groups, they often barter their own spontaneity and self-direction or fight back vigorously in a futile attempt to gain acceptance and respect from those upon whom they depend for care and affection. Some children perceive so little consistency in the behavior of those around them and receive so little constructive help that they do not learn socially acceptable ways of channeling their impulses.

Research has thrown light on the way in which personality and life styles of children are influenced by the interpersonal relationships which they experience.

Interrelationships Identified by Experts

The authors, quoted in the discussion of healthy personality development, mention several negative learnings which ensue when interpersonal relations are not conducive to the child's growth:

1. The baby who fails to experience warm, accepting relationships and expectations for training geared to the response his body can give is likely to perceive the world and its people, including himself, as untrustworthy.

2. Later, a child needs to start the integration of inner controls. If he is not helped to distinguish between what he can and cannot do, if he is not held within reasonable limits while being allowed to try some things on his own, if he fails to experience consistency in the expectations and behavior of those around him, then he is on the way to becoming the victim of his

own uncontrolled impulses. He will not develop the certainty and self-direction required to channel his impulses in ways beneficial to himself or to society. He will not learn that he cannot control the world according to his desires.

3. Throughout his development, when standards and controls are too rigid or beyond what he can wisely be expected to accomplish, he fails to learn to rely upon himself. He continually looks to others to give him a code or tell him what and how to do.

4. When his own schemes are too arbitrarily and too consistently discouraged, he becomes less and less able to use the powers he has.

5. When he feels guilty and worthy of blame and censure in too many areas, he will have a generally unfriendly attitude toward himself and the world.[13]

Today, there are many children who are in positions in which it is difficult for them to develop pictures of themselves as worthwhile people and to establish strong individual-group identifications. Often the difficulty stems not from the ill-will of people important in their lives, but rather from difficulties the adults face. Such difficulties frequently present themselves to children from broken homes, to children whose parents are too busy and too harassed with trying to provide the necessities of life, to children whose parents are overly anxious about their social or economic status, to children who are set aside because of racial, religious, or other minority group membership, and to children who live on "the wrong side of the tracks."

Segregation

The effects upon those who are set aside, for whatever reason, merit attention. All too frequently schools, sometimes through time-honored practices and often unthinkingly, continue to set these children apart, thus denying them their best chances for learning and overcoming some of the handicaps they already suffer.

Deutscher and Chein questioned over 500 anthropologists, social psychologists and sociologists regarding the deleterious effects of segregation on minority-group members. Witmer and Kotinsky have presented a summary of the opinions which the specialists derived from research and their professional experiences:

1. Special stresses are created for individuals by the discrepancy between democratic teachings with respect to equality and the practice of enforced segregation.

2. Segregation is a special source of frustration.

[13] For detailed discussion, see Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society,* New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1950; Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, *op. cit.;* Millie Almy, *Child Development,* New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1955.

3. Feelings of inferiority and of not being wanted are induced by segregation.

4. Submissiveness, martyrdom, feelings of persecution, withdrawal tendencies, self-ambivalence, and aggression are likely to develop.

5. Distortion in the sense of reality may occur as a consequence of enforced segregation.

6. A few individuals gain psychologically from being members of segregated groups, but most are harmed thereby.[14]

Everyone is affected when discrimination is practiced—the society at large, the individuals who are discriminated against, and those who practice discrimination. In the opinion of the social scientists quoted above, discrimination may be more harmful to the emotional well-being of those who discriminate than to those who are recipients of discrimination. Witmer and Kotinsky's summary of convictions expressed by social scientists presents a warning to our society and its schools:

1. Segregation is a symptom of some maladaptive psychological process.

2. It has pervasive and elusive harmful effects, e.g., increased hostility, deterioration of moral values, the coarsening of interpersonal sensitivity, conflict between ideology and practices, rationalizing, etc.

3. Inner conflicts and guilt feelings may result from membership in groups enforcing segregation.

4. There may be disturbances in the individual's sense of reality and the relations of the individual to the world around him.[15]

Severely Disturbed Children

Reports of severe impairment of the self-image and accompanying hostility toward society come from studies of delinquents and extremely disturbed children. A review of findings from some of these studies will highlight negative factors in the interpersonal environment, furnish an understanding of the difficulties these youngsters have encountered, and indicate some of the practices to be avoided when working with children.

In their summary of studies of delinquent children, Witmer and Kotinsky offer some cues for straight thinking about these unfortunate youngsters. The cues relate to ideas prevalent among the general public, ideas which recent research has largely discredited. "Research

[14] M. Deutscher and I. Chein. "The Psychological Effects of Enforced Segregation: A Survey of Social Science Opinion." *Journal of Psychology* 26: 259-87; 1948. As summarized in *Personality in the Making*, edited by Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 139. Findings of other investigations of the effects of discrimination are reported on pages 139-47.

[15] Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

workers," they state, "have found that, in and of itself, the broken home is not to blame . . . low intelligence has little to do with the case. Poverty is not an adequate explanation, for some impoverished groups produce many juvenile delinquents and others few." [16]

Findings from the Gluecks' study of 500 delinquents and 500 non-delinquents caution against generalizations that ill-health, culture conflict, large family, poor housing, depressed areas cause delinquency. In their study, such factors were less important than relationships within the home. They found that in general, the probability of delinquency is dependent upon the interplay of several conditions. For example, most delinquents were distinguishable from non-delinquents in several ways: (a) *physically* in being more solid and muscular; (b) *temperamentally,* in being more impulsive, aggressive, destructive; (c) *attitudinally,* in being hostile, defiant, resentful, socially assertive, non-submissive to authority; (d) *psychologically,* in tending to the direct and concrete and in being less methodical in their approach to problems; (e) *socio-culturally,* in having been reared to a far greater extent in homes of little understanding, affection, stability, or moral fibre by parents usually unfit to be effective guides and protectors. Living in an underprivileged environment, the delinquents developed unsocial ways for expressing their uncontrolled impulses and egocentric desires.[17]

Reporting a longitudinal study of school boys, Powers and Witmer conclude that the boys who turned out well had parents whose attitudes toward them were rated "favorable," and almost all who were neurotic, psychotic, or chronically delinquent had parents whose relationships with them were distinctly unfavorable.[18]

In a report entitled *Children Who Hate,* Redl and Wineman offer a discerning study of the extreme personality disorders of children whose lot it is to do their growing in hostile interpersonal environments. The youngsters with whom these authors worked had been

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 408-409.

[17] Reprinted by permission of the publishers and The Commonwealth Fund from Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, p. 281-82. Copyright, 1950 by The Commonwealth Fund. For a less technical report of the Gluecks' findings, see Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Delinquents in the Making: Paths to Prevention,* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952.

In Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Physique and Delinquency,* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956, the authors trace the role of differences in body structure in the complex of forces involved in delinquency.

[18] Edwin Powers and Helen L. Witmer. *An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. p. 563. Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, *op. cit.,* p. 413.

subjected to such severe rejection and abuse that they had been unable to integrate inner controls strong enough to prevent a breakthrough of their wayward impulses. So much hostility was bottled up within them that they found it next to impossible to accept the opportunities offered in a friendly environment. The authors asserted that environmental conditions such as poverty, social inequality, crowding and neighborhood tension serve to mobilize and make less manageable the hatred these youngsters feel.[19]

There are marked differences in the extent to which children are adversely affected by unfavorable home conditions. There are people like the women Macfarlane describes who "have become wise, steady, mature and tolerant and have avoided flights into delinquency and neuroticism which anyone of professional competence reviewing their life histories would reasonably have predicted for them."[20]

The Gluecks found that some children who got off to a bad start were able to depart from their anti-social behavior. Many non-delinquents, they noted, had early experience with delinquent behavior, but "such misconduct proved to be very occasional or accidental and was quickly abandoned. Indeed it would seem," they hypothesized, "that while some types of children are criminalized by early experience with delinquency, others are immunized thereby." [21]

Caplan also shows that some children are able to come through in a well-integrated way when they are *free from the pressures of their parents and are able to make some decisions for themselves.*[22]

Authoritarian Personality

Research and the insightful observations of social and political scientists warn that adverse interpersonal relations may develop personalities which, though not delinquent, nonetheless militate against the realization of democratic ideals. Some researchers refer to authori-

[19] Fritz Redl and David Wineman. *Children Who Hate.* Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951. Also Fritz Redl and David Wineman, *Controls from Within,* Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952. Both books are worthy of careful study for the understandings they give of the processes involved in ego development, of the deleterious effects of emotional deprivation, and for the suggestions offered for ways of helping severely disturbed children make the gains so essential to eventual self-realization.

[20] Jean Macfarlane and Joan Walker. "Symposium: Looking Ahead in Orthopsychiatric Research. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 20:87-88; 1950.

[21] Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[22] Gerald Caplan, editor. *Emotional Problems of Early Childhood.* New York: Basic Books, 1955. In Lois B. Murphy, "Learning How Children Cope with Problems," *Children* 44:133; July-August 1957.

tarian personality.[23] Counts [illegible] of the totalitarian mind and labels it an intangible destroyer of democracy.[24]

Characteristics. The extreme authoritarian (true totalitarian) has a world outlook which determines his behavior in a variety of areas, including self-other relationships, in-group—out-group relationships, international view, religious sentiments, social and political philosophy. Conventionality, rigidity in thinking, fear and dependency, characterize his behavior in all areas of living. He clings desperately to whatever appears to be strong and rejects disdainfully whatever is relegated to the bottom. He thinks in black and white terms. He sees the leader and the led; the strong and the weak; the right and the wrong; the "ins" and the "outs"; we and they; our nation and other nations. He is inclined to have narrow, ethnocentric attitudes; outside his own group he sees not individuals but masses; he thinks in superpatriotic terms and is inclined to view other nations as hostile and untrustworthy. He feels that everyone needs a strong leader to ensure that right is done and to protect against the enemies who are all about. He cannot tolerate differences, cannot face alternative solutions, cannot attempt the unconventional. In short, he lives in a narrow, restricted world where he feels threatened by the evil around him—not recognizing that most of the evil he sees lies within himself. His super-patriotism, his seeking for a strong leader, his dichotomous thinking, his distrust of others are but outward manifestations of the hostility and insecurity which lie buried within.

The studies of the authoritarian personality were carried on primarily to determine relationships with prejudice. They showed that the adverse estimates that authoritarians hold of themselves precipitate hostility toward others, often, though not always, expressed in prejudice. At best, self-other relationships are fraught with distrust and the approaches of an insecure person.

Interpersonal relations. Studies have shown that persons with

[23] Theodor W. Adorno and others. *The Authoritarian Personality.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. This is a report of one of the studies sponsored by the Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Committee. Reports of other studies under the same sponsorship can be found in Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *Dynamics of Prejudice,* 1950; Paul W. Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction,* 1949; Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit,* 1949; Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder,* 1950;—all, New York: Harper and Brothers.

For a critique of "The Authoritarian Personality" studies, see Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality,"* Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954.

[24] G. S. Counts. "The Intangible Supports of Liberty." *The Educational Forum* 20:140; January 1956.

authoritarian tendencies report different interpersonal relations in childhood than those with democratic tendencies. Among the best sources of such knowledge are studies carried on with children as the subjects. A review of a few of those designed primarily to discover the antecedents of prejudice and related forms of undemocratic attitudes and opinions will reveal significant findings.

Frenkel-Brunswik, studying 120 children ages 11-16, found that those who were less friendly toward others, in particular, members of minority groups, possessed several negative social learnings. They were, for example, submissive to authority. Inwardly, however, they resented authority. They held a glorified conception of their own group. Other groups they subjected to open aggression and hostility. Toward other countries they were indifferent or hostile. They were rigid in their thinking and unable to face alternative solutions. They wanted a set of inflexible social rules to follow and looked down upon those who did not follow their chosen rules. They were particularly condemning of those who did not exhibit such peripheral values as cleanliness and politeness. The homes of these children, she found, were lacking in affectionate relationships. Their parents showed an exaggerated concern with social status. Harsh and rigid forms of discipline were the rule. The resulting attitude toward authority on the part of the child presents a problem for the wider society. "Forced submission to authority," Frenkel-Brunswik concludes, "produces only surface conformity countermanded by violent underlying destructiveness dangerous to the society."[25]

In one discussion of the authoritarian personality pattern, she reports that:

> . . . there is surface glorification of parents and authorities combined with an underlying resentment and even hatred of such authorities which is only thinly disguised, there is stress on virility going hand in hand with an underlying passivity and receptivity which leads to the will to follow a strong leader, overt emphasis on conventional values is paralleled by a leaning toward destruction and chaos . . . the need for absolutes is but an attempt to counteract the internal chaos and lack of social and personal identity.[26]

Gough and others secured comparable findings in a study of grade school children's attitudes toward Negroes. The less accepting children

[25] E. Frenkel-Brunswik. "A Study of Prejudice in Children." *Human Relations* 1:295-306; 1948.

[26] E. Frenkel-Brunswik. "Further Contributions by a Contributor to 'The Authoritarian Personality.'" *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality."* Edited by Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954, p. 264-65.

lacked feelings of security and confidence; their personalities were constricted, cynical, fearful and suspicious.[27]

In a related study, Harris, Gough and Martin attempted to find the relationship between parents' beliefs concerning child training and children's ethnic attitudes. They concluded that unaccepting attitudes on the part of children stemmed from personality difficulties attributable to parents' authoritarian attitudes. The parents of the prejudiced children in the study expected obedience promptly and unquestioningly and were intolerant of the children's "annoyance value." The study revealed no one-to-one relationship between the attitudes of parents and their children.[28]

Unfavorable Peer Relationships

Fairly consistent correlation between family relationships and social behavior of children appeared in Martin's study of 3000 preadolescents. Children who had most difficulty in their relationships with other children were over-protected or exploited at home; those who exhibited behaviors such as swearing and stealing were deprived and rejected at home.[29]

Trent found that those who deprecate their own worth tend to project their ill feelings upon others. In a study of Negro children, his data showed that those who were most accepting of themselves were friendly toward both Negroes and whites. Those who rejected themselves tended to reject whites and other Negro children as well. Furthermore, most of those who were least acceptant of themselves were inclined to repudiate their own group and to wish they were white.[30]

Studies of prejudice show that plans to enlarge children's life space by providing contact with children from other groups can misfire, unless children accept themselves and feel secure within themselves. Mussen's study of white and Negro boys in a camp situation showed that while contact did make some boys less prejudiced, it increased the hostility of others. Further study of those who became more

[27] H. G. Gough and others. "Children's Ethnic Attitudes: I. Relationship to Certain Personality Factors." *Child Development* 21:83-91; 1950.

[28] D. B. Harris and others. "Children's Ethnic Attitudes: II. Relationship to Parental Beliefs Concerning Child Training." *Child Development* 21:169-81; 1950.

[29] A. R. Martin. "A Study of Parental Attitudes and Their Influence Upon Personality Development." *Education* 43:596-608; 1943.

[30] R. Trent. "The Correlates of Self-Acceptance Among Negro Children." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University. Reported in A. T. Jersild, *Child Psychology*, fourth edition, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954, p. 296-97, 596-97.

hostile disclosed that they felt more environmental pressures when away from camp and felt more hostility toward their parents. They had, as a result, more aggressive and dominance needs which found expression in hostility toward the Negroes. Boys who were dissatisfied with the camp situation likewise increased in prejudice.[31]

Another study is pertinent to consideration of adverse effects of the interpersonal environment. It deals, not with prejudices, but with peer relationships and child-adult relationships. Maas, from interviews with a small number of 10- to 15-year-old boys and girls, found that those whose relationships with peers were least favorable had experiences within the home similar to those of delinquent and prejudiced children. He questioned whether children from the "lower-lower" class looked upon their social and physical freedom as freedom. Psychologically, they appear to experience rejection, accompanied by fear of the parents and feelings of unworthiness. Their strong needs for interpersonal relations must be satisfied by peers and siblings. He found two peer relationship patterns among this group: one in which the child used his status to exercise power over his peers; another, in which he was submissive and excessively dependent upon them for support and direction. All kept a psychological distance between themselves and adults.[32]

Many other studies concur in these findings. Children who have not received the affection and support they need from adults, whose purposes have been thwarted too severely and who have experienced too frequent and too overwhelming frustration harbor ill feelings toward themselves and others. Their hostility is often, though not always, expressed in prejudices against out-groups. There is much evidence to support Bettelheim and Janowitz's theory that the basic factor in hostility among out-groups is the feeling that one has suffered deprivations in the past.[33]

Rigidity in Thinking

Children who grow in environments which inhibit the selection of positive views of self and others manifest insecurity and frustration in their whole orientation to living. Several studies have shown that rigidity in thinking is characteristic of those whose life experiences have failed to foster good feelings toward self and others.

[31] P. H. Mussen. "Some Personality and Social Factors Related to Children's Attitudes Toward Negroes." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 45:423-41; 1950.

[32] H. S. Maas. "Some Social Class Differences in the Family Systems and Group Relations of Pre- and Early Adolescents." *Child Development* 22:145-52; 1951.

[33] Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *op. cit.*

A summary which Christie and Jahoda term "cautious" was presented by Reichard in her report of characteristics of prejudiced adults. They were, she concluded, less productive mentally, less responsive emotionally, less original, and more inclined to be inhibited and over-meticulous.[34]

In a study of children's approaches to problem solving, Rokeach found that those with a prejudiced personality possessed a general rigid set and outlook which were reflected in their thinking. They were more rigid and more concrete in solving arithmetic problems. When conditions warranted a direct and simple solution, they did not abandon the long and complicated solution which had been given earlier. The unprejudiced children were better able to perceive the new relationships and alter their approach accordingly.[35]

Junior high school students, studied by Christie, showed equivalent reactions. Those who were rated as most frustrated used the set solution over twice as long as the others.[36]

Other studies have verified the finding that children who are low in ethnic prejudice show greater facility in solving problems. These findings are not surprising in view of what is known in relation to the interrelatedness of all aspects of growth and learning. They show how poorly a child functions when past experiences have curtailed his powers of selection. They also indicate the futility of attempting to improve thinking and problem solving skills in isolation from a setting which builds a favorable view of the self.

Interpersonal Environment and Positive Social Learnings

The preceding section has revealed that difficulties which some children face in becoming personalities who can cope with the freedoms and responsibilities of democratic living are due, in large measure, to their interpersonal environment. It is pertinent now to ask the related question: What have been the nature and quality of the interpersonal environments which have fostered healthy personality development and an outgoing relationship with other people?

[34] S. Reichard, "Rorshach Study of Prejudiced Personality," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 18:280-86, 1948; *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality,"* edited by Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954, p. 162.

[35] M. Rokeach. "Generalized Mental Rigidity as a Factor in Ethnocentrism." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 43:259-78; 1948.

[36] R. Christie. "The Effect of Frustration Upon Rigidity in Problem Solution." *American Psychologist* 5:296-97; 1950.

Interrelationships identified by experts. The outline of healthy personality development in the previous chapter gives some general clues. The relationships have been warm, friendly and accepting. The demands for bodily and social response have been tempered to what the child can give and understand. In short, children have been given care, attention and help appropriate to their needs.

From his review of research dealing with the early years of life, Bowlby concluded that the mother-child relationships must be benign for the child to experience good mental health and be freed to realize his capacities. "It is the complex, rich and rewarding relationships with the mother in early years, varied in countless ways by relationships with the father and the siblings . . . [which] underlie the development of character and mental health."[37]

A conclusion widespread among those who have reviewed the research in this area is that the emotional atmosphere surrounding the child counts more than the specific techniques of child rearing that are practiced. The techniques are valuable when they are used by adults who can carry them out with confidence and with concern for the child's general well-being.[38]

Democratic Personality

Many people develop into personalities capable of enjoying the freedoms and accepting the responsibilities of democratic living. Their characteristics can be gleaned by examining an ideal of the democratic personality.

Characteristics. The authors of *The Authoritarian Personality* have described the "democratic personality." Though an ideal, it serves the function of indicating the kind of personalities which the schools should strive to assist in developing:

[37] John Bowlby. *Maternal Care and Mental Health.* Geneva: World Health Organization, 1951. p. 11. As reported in *Personality in the Making,* edited by Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952, p. 93-94.

[38] Pertinent individual studies can be found in H. Orlansky, "Infant Care and Personality," *Psychological Bulletin,* January 1949; M. A. Ribble, *The Rights of Infants,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1943; R. A. Spitz, "Hospitalism, An Inquiry into the Genesis of Psychiatric Conditions in Early Childhood," *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child,* Vol. I, New York: International Universities Press, 1945; W. Goldfarb, "Effects of Psychological Deprivation in Infancy and Subsequent Stimulation," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 102:18-33, 1945; R. A. Spitz and K. M. Wolf, "Anaclitic Depression. An Inquiry into the Genesis of Psychiatric Conditions in Early Childhood," *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child,* Vol. II, New York: International Universities Press, 1946; L. K. Fischer, "Hospitalism in Six-Month-Old Infants," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 22:522-33, 1952.

The extremely democratic personality is a man with a mind of his own; he is a flexible individual, adjusting readily to new situations. He is sensitive to the part he plays in conflicting situations, and he is ready to take responsibility for his own behavior. . . . He is without prejudice against religious or racial minorities. He regards persons as individuals and not types. . . . It is easy for him to see some good in the world and hope for its future. Most important, he refuses to surrender his individuality to a "big shot" although he may submit to authority when he believes such authority is based upon equality, superior ability and cooperation, and that the authority is subject to dismissal for a job badly done.[39]

Interpersonal relations. Behavior characteristic of the democratic personality described above is defined by Anderson and Anderson as "socially integrative behavior." It is behavior distinguished by a high state of organization and *working with* others. It represents an interplay of open minds.

The Andersons offer 10 summary statements which indicate relationships between the interpersonal environment and socially integrative behavior. In abbreviated form, they are:

1. One is accepted as he is with a minimum of rejection, pressure or domination from the environment.

2. There is, therefore, no maximum of spontaneity. There can be free expression of ideas, activities and impulses since one is accepted as he is.

3. With free expression there is a maximum of communication, making possible a maximum of understanding of the person.

4. With the security attendant upon being accepted, perception need not be distorted by concern for what it means to one's personal security. This facilitates understanding of others.

5. There is a minimum necessity for repressing into the unconscious.

6. Being accepted as he is, the person has little cause for dominating, attacking or coercing others.

7. The interpersonal relationships show a maximum of harmony, of *working with* others.

8. In this relation, "conflict with environment" is meaningless. The mechanisms of self-defense are not needed.

9. The person experiences positive, constructive, creative, pleasant and satisfying emotions. In this environment there is the joy of discovery and thrill in learning.

10. But for no person at all times is this high degree of spontaneity and harmony complete. There are, however, many human relationships and many situations which satisfy these criteria to a high degree. In such relationships

[39] Samuel W. Flowerman. "Portrait of the Authoritarian Man." *The New York Times Magazine,* April 25, 1950.

and situations, it is not meaningful to speak of conflict or fear of one another, of aggression or attack, of ascendance or mastery.[40]

Such criteria offer guides to adults who are trying to structure an environment in which children can select the learnings crucial for democratic living in today's world.

Favorable Self-Other Relationships

Research studies show that factors mentioned by the Andersons are operative in interpersonal environments which promote harmonious self-other relationships.

The importance of the mother's self-assurance or poise, use of language and cheerfulness was emphasized in the Macfarlane study. The researchers concluded that "the mother's skill in communicating to her child is an important aspect of the educational process and contributes to healthy emotional development as well as to the acquisition of information."[41]

Bishop found that suggesting and structuring behavior on the part of the mother elicited wholehearted cooperation and suggesting types of behavior from the child. She decided that "the child whose individuality, opinions and abilities are recognized whenever possible may feel less necessity for asserting his independence in negative responses. There is also an indication that the child reflects in his own behavior the type of control which his mother has used in guiding his behavior."[42]

Much of the same type of behavior on the part of the parent prevailed in what Baldwin considered democracy in the home. In nursery school, children who experienced democratic relationships were active and socially outgoing in their behavior. They were leaders in their group, exhibited high degrees of intellectual curiosity, originality and constructiveness. Then tended to be domineering in their relations with other children.[43]

The high rating on hostile and domineering behavior is explained by Anderson and Anderson as an illustration of the fact that spontaneity is innate, while harmony in social relations must be learned.

[40] H. H. and Gladys L. Anderson. "Social Development." *Manual of Child Psychology*. Edited by Leonard Carmichael. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. Second edition. 1954. p. 1176, 1183.

[41] Jean W. Macfarlane and others, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

[42] B. M. Bishop. "Mother-Child Interaction and the Social Behavior of Children." *Psychological Monograph* 65:19-20; 1951.

[43] A. L. Baldwin. "The Effects of Home Environment on Nursery School Behavior." *Child Development* 20:49-62; 1949.

In an earlier study, Baldwin, Kalhorn and Breese found that children actually did learn harmonious relationships rapidly:

> By the time the child from the *democratic* home has become of school age his social development has progressed markedly. He is popular and a leader, not so much because he is aggressive and dominant as because he is bright enough to have ideas and is friendly and good natured. Throughout all of his development the child from the *democratic* home seems emotionally secure, serene, and unexcitable. He has a close attachment to his parents and is able to adjust well to his teacher.[44]

But what of older children? The studies reviewed under interpersonal relations which impede positive social learnings suggest that warm, accepting, understanding relationships with adults are a continuing need. The nature of guidance and the amount of freedom, however, change with the changing needs of the child.

Harris, Gough and Martin, for instance, discovered that accepting attitudes on the part of the parents and good judgment in child rearing were instrumental in developing such good feelings about self that the child had no need to subject others to hostile treatment.[45]

Martin found that friendly children who were constructive group members and relatively free from anxieties had experienced quite different relationships from those who felt hostile and insecure:

> *There was acceptance:* children were listened to; they were permitted to engage in rough play; school reports were accepted without punishment or rebuff.
>
> *There was freedom:* parents encouraged children to make friends outside the family, to play with the peer group.
>
> *There was support:* parents gave time and thought to the child and endeavored to meet his needs.
>
> *There was comradeship:* children saw family members as doing things for and with each other. Parents laughed and joked and told stories to children.[46]

In the Maas study, those boys and girls who were less dependent upon their peers had more restrictions of their physical freedom *but* they had comparatively open communication with their parents and greater freedom to express disapproval and negative feelings. In the process, modification was made in the expectations of both parents and children.[47]

[44] A. L. Baldwin, J. Kalhorn and F. H. Breese. "Patterns of Parent Behavior." *Psychological Monograph*, No. 268. 58:1-75; 1945.

[45] D. B. Harris and others, *op. cit.*, 169-81.

[46] A. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, 596-608.

[47] H. S. Maas, *op. cit.*, 145-52.

Children become better able to use the abilities they have, surer of themselves in their relatedness to others, if they are accepted with their strengths and weaknesses, if there are cooperation and mutual consideration in the home, and if demands are tempered to the responses they can give comfortably. Among the practices of adults which encourage self-acceptance and openness toward others are:

1. Recognizing the individuality of each child
2. Listening to, respecting and using children's opinions
3. Accepting their feelings
4. Accepting the aggressive, rough and tumble play of exuberant youngsters
5. Planning work and play so they can use their abilities
6. Giving time and thought to them and their needs; endeavoring to meet their needs
7. Allowing opportunities for them to be with their friends
8. Using power with them. Exercising the type of control they need to learn to exercise with others
9. Participating with them in pleasurable activities
10. Having a sense of humor, laughing and joking with them.

Sentiments in the Environment

Not all poor social relationships can be attributed to a child's feelings of insecurity and hostility. Any child, to some extent, accepts and imitates the attitudes and behaviors of his parents. From his solid identification with the family group he tends to look upon *our* ways as the *right* ways. If these ways include rejection or feelings of superiority over other groups, he is likely to accept these feelings. If the family is friendly and outgoing in its relationships, then the child is likely to act in kind.

There are social conditions in this country which do not favor the development of attitudes of wholehearted acceptance of certain groups. These conditions influence the social learnings of both adults and children. Segregation, pervasive sentiments against certain groups, and propaganda disseminated through media of communication number among such social conditions. They foster the development of false concepts and stereotypes. They limit the knowledge and information upon which people base their judgments. Though people who act upon erroneous ideas thus conceived are not necessarily at odds with themselves and others, their thinking and behavior are nonetheless detrimental to a realization of the democratic ideal.

Effects Upon Social Learnings

From a series of studies of sixth grade children, Zeligs concluded that children reflect the set cultural patterns and stereotypes of their social environment. These stereotypes often interfere with the acceptance of information which might alter the accepted stereotype.[48]

Meltzer obtained similar results from a study of about 3000 children. According to his findings, children's unfavorable attitudes were related to the impact of newspapers, radio, other community influences and the attitudes prevalent among adults. He concluded that the general emotional atmosphere and climate of opinion in the United States do tend to nurture an "American nationality preference pattern which serves as a frame of reference for children's expression of preferences."[49]

Other investigators have reported the decisive effect of a negative climate of opinion upon social relations. Horowitz's early study showed that contact with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes is a strong factor in inducing ill will toward Negroes. Boys whom he tested in Tennessee and Georgia were no more prejudiced than those tested in New York.[50] In North Dakota, subjects who had few, if any, contacts with Negroes were found by Rosenblith to have marked prejudices against them.[51]

Findings from the Philadelphia studies of openmindedness also accord with the generalization that it is not only the insecure child who develops prejudices. These studies have shown that if the culture practices and condones rejection, the children tend to behave and think in terms of rejection.[52] Even at the young ages represented in

[48] R. Zeligs, "Racial Attitudes of Young Children," *Sociology and Social Research* 21:361-71, 1937; "Children's Concepts of Norwegian, Jew, Scotch, Canadian, Swedish and American Indian," *Journal of Educational Research* 45:349-60, 1952; "Children's Concepts and Stereotypes of Dutch, French, Mexican, Russian, and Negro," *Journal of Educational Research* 43:367-75, 1950.

[49] H. Meltzer, "Children's Thinking about Nations and Races," *Journal of Genetic Psychology* 58:181-99, 1941; "Group Differences in Nationality and Race Preferences of Children," *Sociometry* 2:86-105, 1939.

[50] E. L. Horowitz, "The Development of Attitudes Toward Negroes," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 194, New York: Columbia University, 1936; *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality,"* edited by Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954, p. 111.

[51] F. Rosenblith. "A Replication of Some Roots of Prejudice." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 44:470-89; 1949.

[52] Helen G. Trager and Marian Radke-Yarrow. *They Learn What They Live.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. p. 113-227.

kindergarten, first and second grades, children had accepted adult concepts and attitudes toward racial and religious groups.[53]

Lack of Parental Concern

The findings of a study by Radke and others suggest that, in general, parents' teaching of intergroup attitudes is neither direct nor planned. Only a few parents indicated that they were making conscious efforts to help children respect differences and resist the social prejudices around them. However, many of the parents, either by restricting or encouraging friendship among children of different groups, were influencing the frame of reference in which children viewed people and groups.[54]

Bird and others also found that very few families are typified either by strong efforts to educate children in democratic attitudes or by strong efforts to inculcate antipathies toward Negroes. The subjects of their study included white children and their parents. The children were attending grades 3, 4 and 5 in two public schools which enrolled both white and Negro children. The researchers concluded that children are moved in the direction of racial prejudice more by spoken prohibitions of play with Negro children than by the subtle forces some parents hope will be effective. Within families they found that the attitudes of fathers and mothers often differed. Considering the conflicting forces to which some children are subjected within the home, they questioned whether children's racial attitudes are either positively or negatively reinforced in a consistent manner.[55]

There is no doubt that some environments present antidemocratic attitudes for children's selection. When these attitudes are exhibited by those with whom the child is strongly identified, he tends to accept them rather readily because they are what "we" think and feel. Unfortunately, most families take no definite steps to educate for democratic attitudes. In addition, those with prejudiced attitudes tend to restrict children's opportunities to interact with those against whom

[53] M. Radke and others. "Social Perceptions and Attitudes of Children." *Genetic Psychological Monograph* 40:336-38; 1949.

[54] M. Radke-Yarrow and others. "The Role of Parents in the Development of Children's Ethnic Attitudes." *Child Development* 23:13-53; 1952.

[55] C. Bird and others. "Studies of Group Tensions: III. 'The Effect of Parental Discouragement of Play Activities Upon the Attitudes of White Children Toward Negroes.'" *Child Development* 23:295-306; 1952. This study is one of a series on the problem of social responsibility carried on in the Laboratory for Research in Social Relations at the University of Minnesota under a Carnegie grant. Other findings in this area are reported in: F. D. Peterson, "The Relationships Between Certain Attitudes of Parents and Children," *Studies in Higher Education*, Purdue University, 31:127-44.

there is prejudice. Therefore, children are limited even further in their opportunities to select realistic attitudes.

Environments of Socioeconomic Groups

Recent studies of culture and class membership have revealed diversities in the behavior, motivation and values of different social groups. These diversities necessarily influence children's learnings.

A Word of Warning

Many erroneous assumptions and unsound decisions follow if one operates upon the belief that a child from a given group will possess learnings and characteristics commonly attributed to his group. There are factors which militate against similarity of learnings among group members. A few are examined at this point to serve as a reminder that it is always a unique child, interacting in the present environment, with whom the teacher is concerned.

The principle of selective interaction precludes any one-to-one relationship between a child's learnings and those to which he may be exposed. Family members, too, have their unique interpretations of the culture of their groups. Moreover, as Rugg and Withers state, "Most Americans belong to several groups; hence many people while appearing to fit into a 'class' actually have divided interests and behave in concert with several classes."[56] Gross also indicates that the likelihood of membership in many groups negates over-generalization of a person's values and behaviors because of membership in a particular group. He shows that any individual is a member of several groups and that within ethnic and racial groups there are socioeconomic divisions.[57]

Many interrelated factors affect the development of a child in any social-class group. Almy notes some. "Religious convictions of the parents," she writes, "the amount and the kind of education they have had, their housing arrangements, may make for significant differences . . . among families whose social position is identical."[58]

There are differences among different groups, but there are also great differences within groups. A child from one group may behave more like a child in another group than like most members of his group. Harris has noted that variation within subgroups of American

[56] Harold Rugg and William Withers. *Social Foundations of Education.* Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1956. p. 279.

[57] N. Gross. "A Critique of Social Class Structure and American Education." *Harvard Educational Review* 23:298-329; Fall 1953.

[58] Millie Almy, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

society is probably as great as or greater than the variation among subgroups.[59] Investigators have found fairly consistent differences only when persons from extreme ends of the socioeconomic continuum are studied. As the middle is approached, there is more overlapping, possibly because of more interacting among the groups. Rothman, for example, found in his study of the relationships between the social class position and the value system of junior high school students of the lower-middle and upper-middle classes that, in general, the data failed to indicate any significant differences in value patterns.[60]

No one pattern fits all families within a group; no child's learnings are stencil copies of those made available by membership within a particular group. Nevertheless, research findings, which reveal differences in the motivations, values and child rearing practices of different groups have significance. They provide cues for interpreting the behavior of children and indicate decisions which must be made when structuring an environment in which each child, regardless of previous learnings, can move forward with feelings of self-worth and dignity.

Expectations and Practices of Lower Status Families

Many studies have been designed to differentiate between the expectations and practices of lower and middle class families and their effects upon children's social learnings.[61] The following paragraphs present some of the findings.

Lower class families are often harassed by economic insecurity. They worry about having enough to eat and wear, about having fuel and light, and about being evicted. As a result, they tend to go after

[59] D. B. Harris. "Socialization of the Delinquents." *Child Development* 19:143-53; 1948.

[60] P. Rothman. "Socio-Economic Status and the Values of Junior High School Students." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 28:126-30; 1954.

[61] Sources providing materials for this discussion are: John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939; Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage,* Washington: American Council on Education, 1940, p. 271-77; W. Lloyd Warner and P. S. Lunt, *The Status System of a Modern Community,* Vol. II of *Yankee City Series,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953; W. Lloyd Warner and others, *Who Shall Be Educated?* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944; James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1945; A. Davis and R. J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," *American Sociological Review* 11:698-710, 1946; R. J. Havighurst, "Child Development in Relation to Community Social Structure," *Child Development* 17:85-90, 1946; Allison Davis, *Social-Class Influences upon Learning,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948; August Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth,* New York; John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949; Celia B. Stendler, *Children of Brasstown,* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949.

what they can get *now*. They buy when they have the money with a now-or-never, all-or-nothing attitude. Deferred gratifications and habits of saving make little sense since they lack the security which indicates that it is safe to depend upon what the future may bring. They are apt, because of their anxieties, to be more aggressive than others in going after what they want.

Even in families where there is much affection for the children, parents often can devote little time to their children because they have large families or are overtaxed trying to make ends meet. In this respect the environment may be less stimulating intellectually, since the parents have less time, less energy and less money to devote to their children. Also, the educational and intellectual status of the parents is generally conceded to be lower than that of other groups. These families, in many communities, are cut off from participation in group activities of the community except for membership in church groups or labor unions; hence, their social horizons are limited.

Researchers have noted differences in the experiences of children belonging to this social group. The children have much leeway for exploration in their physical and social world, since they are not under close supervision. They stay up late, roam the streets late, and go to the movies often.

Children meet few restraints in expressing aggression and sexuality. They are allowed to engage in overtly aggressive acts and may be encouraged to fight and to hit first. Their sex knowledge is earthy and is discussed frankly in play groups.

They are punished frequently and severely and are provided with few rewards. Bad language is not prohibited nor are the niceties of language and manners stressed. Parents lack both the time and the learnings to provide much help in these matters.

In general, parents do not expect children to get much out of school or to go far in school.

Expectations and Practices of Middle Status Families

Middle status children have more restraints placed upon their explorations in the physical and social world. They are under closer supervision and have a more regular schedule for sleeping, eating and arriving home. Their parents keep an eye on their whereabouts. As a consequence of the stricter regime, children have fewer opportunities to organize play activities, to choose their playmates, or to make decisions for themselves.

Fighting, overt aggression and bad language are discouraged.[62] Parents, generally, have time, money and the desire to encourage achievements in learning. Stress is laid upon good language, improving oneself, and doing well in school. They expect, and the children expect, that the children will profit from school experiences.

The stricter regime can be just as hard on children as too little guidance. It places them under more restraints and more frustration of their impulses.

Contrasts in Children's Learnings

Contrasts between the behavior of children from the two groups disclose dangers of interpreting behavior by a single standard.

Lower class children have seen affection shown by cheerful nagging, pommelling and loud verbal attack; middle class children have seen kissing, fondling and approval-giving as signs of affection.

Lower class children have become afraid to exhibit their emotions because they then become open to social criticism; middle class children often learn that it is not "nice" to express negative feelings.

Whereas middle class children tend to think a person who has made a mistake should be helped to learn why it was wrong, lower class children are apt to take an arbitrary position. They suggest a more authoritarian and punitive approach to the wrongdoer. Their proposals for dealing with a child who has broken another's toy include smacking him and breaking something of his.

Children from the two groups differ in their views about cheating. Harrower's study showed that lower status children thought cheating was bad or wrong in itself or that it should be avoided because it is forbidden; the others thought cheating was unfair and didn't do any good because "you can't learn that way." However, at the ages of 8 through 11, the lower class children were saying, "It is not fair play."[63]

[62] A finding in opposition to this is reported by Eleanor E. Macoby and others in "Methods of Child Rearing in Two Social Classes," *Readings in Child Development*, edited by Willard Spalding, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954, p. 384. The authors found that upper-middle class mothers are as tolerant of aggression among neighborhood children as are upper-lower class mothers. Aggression toward parents was disapproved by mothers of both groups, though the middle class group was more apt to overlook it.

[63] M. R. Harrower, "Social Status and the Moral Development of the Child," *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 1:75-95, 1934; also M. H. Appel, "Aggressive Behavior of Nursery School Children and Adult Procedures in Dealing with Such Behavior," *Journal of Experimental Education* 11:185-99, 1953; L. Dolger and J. Ginandes, "Children's Attitudes Toward Discipline as Related to Socio-Economic Status," *Journal of Experimental Education* 15:161-65, 1946.

It should be repeated here that it is impossible to say with definiteness that a child's response is due to group membership. His own point of development, his mental ability, his meanings and purposes influence his outlook upon moral issues.

When children were asked what they would do if they had a hundred dollars, the lower class children chose immediate use and practical benefits such as clothes and toys for themselves and operations for their parents. From experience they had learned not to bank on the future. The middle class children, on the other hand, mentioned purposes that were future-oriented; such as saving half or more for college education.[64] These responses were what children *said* they would do with the money. What they actually would do with it might be another matter.

Middle class children, generally, are expected to assume responsibility for personal care and cleanliness and for the performance of some household tasks. Usually they are instructed in how these tasks are to be performed. Lower class children have to take practical responsibility for their own care and safety, and often for that of younger siblings but they receive less guidance in doing this well.

The investigators have found that these differences among socio-economic groups hold, regardless of race or ethnic group membership. If anything, Negro parents of the middle status group are even stricter than white parents in their demands.

The important point is that these learnings are approved in the group culture and they are socially meaningful in that culture. Davis emphasizes the cultural significance of behavior.

> The lower-class individual is taught by his culture to be anxious about different social dangers. Whereas the middle-class child learns a socially adaptive fear of receiving poor grades in school, of being aggressive toward the teacher, of fighting, of cursing, and of having early sex relations, the slum child learns to fear quite different social acts. His gang teaches him to fear being taken in by the teacher. . . . To study homework seriously is literally a disgrace. Instead of boasting of good marks in school, one conceals them, if he ever receives any. The lower-class individual fears *not* to be thought a street fighter. . . . He *fears not to curse*.[65]

Language Development

The ability to use language provides the child a means for expressing, extending and refining his meanings. It enables him to organize and

[64] Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1950 Yearbook. *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools*. Washington, D. C.: the Association, a department of the National Education Association, 1950. p. 25.

[65] Allison Davis, *Social-Class Influences upon Learning, op. cit.*, p. 30.

recall experience and to check and verify his experiences with others. Effective use of language is, therefore, a socially useful skill and one with which the schools are greatly concerned. Research reveals that the social environments in which children live have striking effects upon language development.

Socioeconomic Environment

Studies provide considerable confirmation of the hypothesis that the ease and exactness with which children interpret and use words differ according to their socioeconomic environments. Children whose parents are well-to-do and well-educated tend to excel those whose parents are poor and less well educated. Data presented by Buhler indicated that children from a more favored socioeconomic environment were markedly accelerated in their use of language over those from an underprivileged environment. In studies relating a child's language development to his father's occupation, the greatest superiority in linguistic development came from families of the professional and managerial group who use words in their work.[66]

Though many parents of the lower status groups undoubtedly are less gifted linguistically, evidence indicates that their children experience inadequate stimulation for language development. An extremely provocative study in this connection is that by Milner. From first grade Negro children representing divergent socioeconomic levels, he selected two groups differentiated by high and low scores in language I.Q. The high scorers had very different intrafamily experiences. Usually the entire family had breakfast together. They engaged in conversation at breakfast, before school and at supper, with the children actively participating. Children in these families also received more overt expressions of affection from adults. Mothers of the low scorers, on the contrary, did not eat breakfast with the children and did not talk with them at breakfast or before they started to school except to issue occasional orders or cautions. The variations tended to correlate with variations in socioeconomic status.[67]

The disadvantages of those who do not enjoy language stimulation and affectionate family relationships show up clearly in studies of

[66] From a review of studies by Dorothea McCarthy in *Manual of Child Psychology*, edited by Leonard Carmichael, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., second edition, 1954, p. 586-87.

[67] E. Milner. "A Study of the Relationships Between Reading Readiness in Grade One School Children and Patterns of Parent-Child Interaction." *Child Development* 22:25-112; 1951. Reported by Dorothea McCarthy, *op. cit.*, p. 588.

institutionalized or orphanage children. They consistently give evidence of retardation in their language development.[68]

Adult-Child Interaction

Other studies have shown that linguistic acceleration is related to association with adults. A child who has frequent association with adults gets more practice in using more mature language in situations which invite good language usage. Only children, for instance, seem to be most precocious in their language development. In her report of these findings, McCarthy states that though these children undoubtedly have superior native endowment, their linguistic superiority appears out of proportion to what would be expected on the basis of age, sex, mentality, or even socioeconomic status. Their advantage seems to stem from being in an environment which affords greater association with adults, broader experience and greater opportunity to practice language under optimum conditions.[69]

One study presents findings which, if they hold true for larger numbers, have significant implications for education. Using 11 pairs of orphanage children matched in age, sex, school group, M.A., I.Q. and score on the Smith-Williams vocabulary test, Dawe undertook a study of the effects of a 92-day educational program emphasizing language development. It consisted of about 50 hours of individual and small-group help in understanding words, looking at and discussing pictures, listening to poems and stories, and going on short excursions. One member of each pair had the enriching experiences; the other served as a control. Significant gains were made by the experimental group in all language aspects measured except intelligibility and complexity of organization. Vocabulary scores increased 17.5 points in contrast to 10.0 for the control group; sentence length increased from 5.34 to 6.14. The language gains were reflected in an increase from 80.6 to 94.8 in average I.Q.; the control group decreased from 81.5 to 79.5.[70]

In view of the strong emphasis which is placed upon language in school programs, it is important to note that both research and observa-

[68] Dorothea McCarthy, "The Language Development of the Pre-School Child," Institute of Child Welfare Monograph Series, No. 4, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930; M. E. Smith, "A Study of Some Factors Influencing the Development of the Sentence in Pre-School Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology* 46:182-212, 1935. Reviewed by Dorothea McCarthy, *op. cit.*, 589-90.

[69] Reported by Dorothea McCarthy, *op. cit.*, 589-90.

[70] H. C. Dawe. "A Study of the Effect of an Educational Program upon Language Development and Related Mental Functions in Young Children." *Journal of Experimental Education* 11:200-209; 1942. Reported by Dorothea McCarthy, *op. cit.*, p. 589-90.

tion reveal clearly that there are marked differences in the opportunities children have to develop whatever potentialities they have. The kind of language patterns, the ways of using language which are available for selection necessarily lead to differences in learnings. More than that, many children receive neither the encouragement nor help needed to accelerate language development.

Summary. Early in life, each child, following his purposes builds meanings as he interacts in his environment. These meanings have a selective impact upon his further purposes and meanings, influencing (a) his perceptions, (b) his thinking-feeling-acting response to environmental stimuli, and (c) factors in the environment which are stimuli for eliciting responses.

Though his perceptions and meanings may approximate those of another person, they are never stencil copies of them. They are, however, a reality which must direct the decision-making of all who wish to influence his learnings. It is with a child's present perceptions, purposes and meanings that teachers must start, as they strive to help children acquire the learnings needed for healthy personality development and socially effective living in a democratic society today and in the future.

Research reviewed in this chapter has shown how the environment in which children interact affects their learnings. When they enter school, they enter a wider social environment and an environment which can be structured to enable children to select learnings prized by their society and suited to their needs and abilities. To examine the characteristics of a school environment which is structured to invite democratic social learnings is the purpose of the next chapter.

• III •

A School Environment Which Facilitates Selection of Democratic Social Learnings

A FULL acceptance of the fact that, despite the good intentions of well-meaning teachers and administrators, a child cannot and will not learn precisely what the adults have in mind, shatters many prevalent ideas of ways in which the school can help children with their social learnings. Research and empirical study indicate that the school faces a greater responsibility and a more demanding task than has been recognized in the past. Though children do select and reject learnings, the teacher is in a critical position to influence the selections. This he does through the environment he structures and the help he gives as children interact in the school environment.

A Propitious Environment

Wherever children are, whether in school or out of school, whatever they are doing, whether reading or playing, they are using their powers of selection. Their powers of selection may operate to build feelings, ideas and behaviors which lead to a comfortable, cooperative, creative life in an expanding world. On the other hand, they may lead to feelings, ideas and behaviors which cripple a child's living and defeat his attempts to exercise his growing powers effectively. Use of the powers of selection depends not upon what adults decree that children must or must not select. It depends upon how propitious the environment is—whether it offers materials and activities so closely related to the child's meanings and purposes that he can select learnings which are both individually and socially useful.

An Environment Propitious for Each Child

Educators have great difficulty in coming to grips with a most obvious fact about human beings—that each is unique. Too often educators operate and select curriculum experiences in ways which deny the fundamental uniqueness of each child in a classroom.

Factors assuring uniqueness. Uniqueness is guaranteed by such matters as the bisexual nature of human reproduction, differences in sensory acuity, in intelligence (broadly conceived), variations of the growth sequence, rate of growth, physical size, strength, and energy output.

It is apparent now that uniqueness is further guaranteed by the selections children make from whatever opportunities are provided for interaction in the outer environment. The wide variety of circumstances in which children spend their lives adds richly to uniqueness in personality and learnings.

Effects upon learning. It is, therefore, impossible for all children to learn the same things from what appears to be the same situation. It is likewise impossible for all children to learn equally effectively from the same materials and activities. As Frank says:

> The human organism has a highly selective awareness and idiomatically patterned perception with emotional and affective response, which operate seriously to alter the seemingly objective stimulus situation or problem for each subject. . . . Each human being may learn in a different way from the same situation or lesson or experience. He selects what is to him highly relevant and individually significant and may ignore all else. To learn the equivalent, each child may need a variety of experiences . . . visual, auditory, tactile, graphic, plastic, etc. . . . through which he gains understanding and learns to relate himself in his idiosyncratic way to the world. Subject matter can rarely be made objective and efforts to do so may defeat learning by many children.[1]

Learning in a different way and learning different things, according to Rasey and Menge, appear

> . . . to extend beyond the tangible things and people which constitute externality, and encompass patterns of relating to these items. The individual may tend to look upon or feel toward an item or a person differently than the person nearest him does. One sees a task as an opportunity; another sees it as a thankless job. These attitudes condition the quality of the relationship established.[2]

An Environment Propitious for Democratic Learnings

The teacher who structures a school environment is concerned not only that each child be given opportunities to advance in his

[1] Lawrence K. Frank. "Children's In-School and Out-of-School Teachers." *Educational Leadership* 12:295-96; 1955.

[2] Marie I. Rasey and J. W. Menge. *What We Learn From Children.* New York: Harper and Brothers, College Dept., 1956. p. 23.

learning, but also that his learnings be socially useful in a democracy.

He does this in many ways: (a) by providing opportunities for children to learn democracy's ways by living democracy's ways; (b) by planning time for children to bring the feelings and ideas they have gained from "living through" to a level of awareness, verbalizing their meanings and generalizing therefrom; (c) by providing opportunities to observe others' experiences with the processes of democracy; and (d) by using reading, other audio-visual media, and contacts with people to learn what others' experiences with democracy have been.

The teacher supports the democratic ideal of helping each child grow toward his optimum potential by structuring an environment in which each child has the interpersonal relations, materials and activities which he can use to (a) build good feelings toward himself and others, (b) become more knowing about a world of increasing dimensions, (c) become more effective in his problem solving, and (d) build worthy purposes and useful meanings.

Teacher Decision-Making

In making decisions for structuring an environment in which each child can select needed learnings, the teacher considers:

1. The child's needs as a human being
2. His needs at the point he has reached in his development
3. His needs as a unique child.

Though there is much that remains unknown about human growth and development, there is a vast amount of knowledge which should be influencing the structuring of school environments.

To structure an environment in terms of uniqueness, the teacher must make decisions in terms of the particular children he teaches. Through living and communicating sensitively with his children, he can get clues for structuring the school environment. To aid in his decision-making, he needs knowledge of the community and families in which children are having their out-of-school experiences. He also needs knowledge of the child's experiential history. He needs the cooperation of people in the home and the community, as well as people within the school.

A warning to teachers. There are dangers in generalizing too broadly from general developmental trends. Children do depart from the principles of so-called "normal development." What is normal for one may not at all coincide with normalcy derived by generalizing from a study of many children. For example, Tryon and Lilienthal state that, in

any eighth-grade classroom where children of the same age are grouped together, "we would expect to find a physiological range of six or seven years." [3]

When generalizations about needs or developmental tasks are applied inflexibly, the teacher creates a situation similar to that in which he mistakenly assumes that all can profit from doing the same exercise in an arithmetic book. Children do not approach their tasks or work upon their needs in the same way. Some may not have had opportunity to use their powers for effective interaction in the outer world. Some may not have had the kinds of interpersonal relations needed at certain points in their development. In Allport's terms, they have "unfinished business" as they approach new tasks which markedly influence their perceptions of the tasks and the help they need from their teachers.

In his discussion of the "dilemma of uniqueness," Allport observes that each person is an idiom unto himself, developing in his own peculiar context which must be understood in order to understand the person. Yet, each can be known for what he is only by comparing him with the syntax of the species. Still, we err, he believes, in trying to guide or predict one child's behavior or to understand a child unless we examine carefully the interrelations, variability and uniqueness of his personal growth. "The universal dimensions employed in diagnosing [a single child]," Allport states, "may be irrelevant to his personality." [4]

Another insight regarding the way children grow and develop precludes the possibility of planning in accordance with a general overall picture of growth patterns. While children do reach toward higher levels and more integrated growth patterns, growth proceeds in anything but a constant, orderly fashion. "Most types of growth," Ketcham reports, "show intermittent periods of gain, loss, or absence of growth." [5] As Biber says, "a child needs teachers who expect his growth to be gradual, wavering, regressive, uneven and who expect behavior to be accordingly inconsistent." [6]

[3] Caroline Tryon and Jessie W. Lilienthal III. "Developmental Tasks I: The Concept and Its Importance." *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools*, 1950 Yearbook. Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, a department of the National Education Association, 1950. p. 79.

[4] Gordon W. Allport. *Becoming*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955. p. 19-24.

[5] A. Ketcham. "How We Should Look at Levels—From Child Growth and Development." *Childhood Education* 32:158; 1955.

[6] Barbara Biber. "Schooling as an Influence in Developing Healthy Personality." *Community Programs for Mental Health*. Edited by Ruth Kotinsky and Helen Witmer. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. p. 160. Copyright by The Commonwealth Fund.

Teachers who accept this finding do not expect that a child will do better tomorrow than he does today—rather tomorrow they will study the child and see that time, space and materials are available for him to respond to the tensions he feels.

Aids to decision-making. Most students of the dynamics of human behavior agree with Allport that teachers need to look within themselves if they are to understand children. Though a teacher cannot assume that children have states of mind, interests and values like his, knowledge of his own uniqueness supplies the first and probably the best cues for understanding others. It is by reflecting upon factors that seem vital in his own experience of becoming that he identifies important issues. Such items as the following come to mind when one examines the course of his own growth:

> . . . the nature of our inborn dispositions, the impress of culture and environment upon us, our emerging self-consciousness, our conscience, our gradually evolving style of expression, our experiences of choice and freedom, our handling of conflicts and anxieties, and finally the formation of our maturer values, interests and aims.[7]

A teacher's readiest and surest aids to decision-making are his children—not *any* children, but those with whom he is interacting day after day, those who are dependent upon his concern and insightful decision-making in order to have the learning conditions they need. Through continual consultation with children, through his shrewd hunches gained from continual, thoughtful observation of children's behavior in many situations, through close, sensitive living *with* children, the teacher gets his clues for structuring a varied, challenging environment. Through knowing his children well, he determines how to bring them into functional relationship with an environment which he has deliberately structured in order to offer children opportunities for their further growth.[8]

When teachers structure school environments which give cognizance to children's needs and the needs of a democratic society, they provide environments that (a) afford a climate which supports democratic interaction, (b) build good feelings, (c) invite constructive identification, and (d) are structured for selective interaction.

[7] Gordon W. Allport, *op cit.*, p. 23.
A helpful recent publication is by Arthur T. Jersild, *When Teachers Face Themselves*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955.

[8] Suggestions for ways of tapping children's meanings are offered in Alice Miel and Peggy Brogan, *More Than Social Studies*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1957, p. 374-92.

A Climate Which Supports Democratic Interaction

Research related to healthy personality development has shown that the emotional tone of the social environment in which children live has a decisive influence upon the behavior of children. Importantly determining the emotional tone are interpersonal relations. As at home, so at school, the climate which prevails is determined by interpersonal relations. The teacher plays a key role in influencing not only the pupil-teacher relations but also pupil-pupil relations.

The Teacher Plays a Determining Role

The teacher's role is influential because his "choices and preferences," as Rasey and Menge remark, "are themselves contagious and ways of life of young humans have a considerable admixture of the choices and preferences of those in their environment." [9] Not only are the teacher's preferences contagious, they determine largely the opportunities children have to interact and thus practice and learn ways of relating to others.

Children Look at Adult Leaders

Children have their preferences. At all ages, they are well able to identify teacher characteristics which they like and don't like. They consistently give higher ratings to teachers who relate themselves to children in ways which democracy cherishes—ways which promote feelings of worth, dignity, security and achievement. Though they value skillful teaching performance, they place more emphasis upon interpersonal relations. The 12 highest categories of best liked traits of teachers in Witty's study were cooperative, democratic attitudes; kindliness and consideration for the individual; patience; wide interests; personal appearance and pleasing manner; fairness and impartiality; sense of humor; good disposition and consistent behavior; interest in pupils' problems; flexibility; use of recognition and praise; proficiency in teaching.[10]

Highest among disliked practices were the use of excessive demands, sarcasm, threat and contempt.

A study by Eager and Smith substantiates the observation that

[9] Marie I. Rasey and J. W. Menge, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[10] A. T. Jersild, "Characterisitcs of Teachers Who Are 'Liked Best' and 'Disliked Most,'" *Journal of Experimental Education* 9:139-51, 1940; Paul A. Witty, "An Analysis of the Personality Traits of the Effective Teacher," *Journal of Educational Research* 40: 668, 1947. Also Ruth Cunningham and Associates, *Understanding the Group Behavior of Boys and Girls*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951, p. 39-40.

children recognize differences between adult leaders who are autocratic and domineering and those who are considerate and cooperative. Among eleven college girls who were camp counselors, the researchers distinguished five who might be regarded as relatively democratic and six who were relatively authoritarian. The children at the camp, who were six- to eleven-year-old girls from underprivileged environments, evaluated the counselors on a "Guess Who" basis. They were well able to differentiate between the two groups.

Cooperative Procedures Elicit Preferred Responses

All recent studies support the Baxter and Snyder finding that there is a direct relationship between the behavior of a teacher and a pupil's resourcefulness, courtesy, sense of security, seeking of social recognition, and freedom from tension.[11]

A club situation. In the Eager and Smith study, the children's responses revealed relationships between the behavior of children and that of their leaders, the socially desirable behavior appearing with cooperative leaders. Of the more authoritarian leaders, children said:

1. When you have done something wrong or been bad, she sends you to the front porch.
2. She talks to you like you were a baby.
3. She talks to you like she is always mad at you.
4. You do what she asks you to because she will punish you if you don't.
5. You don't do what she asks you to because you like to make her mad.

Of the more democratic teachers, they said:

1. She asks you what you want to do at the beginning of the period and lets you do what you want.
2. She explains how to do something to your group and then leaves the rest up to you.
3. She always helps you when you need it in learning something new and seems very glad to do it.
4. She has a quiet group that pays attention and has fun.
5. You don't want to do what your group is supposed to, but she gives you a special job or makes you like it.[12]

School situations. Tiedeman found similar reactions in the school situation. From his study, he reported that the older the children, the

[11] Bernice Baxter, *Teacher-Pupil Relationships*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941; W. U. Snyder, "Recent Investigations in Mental Hygiene in the Schools," *Educational Research Bulletin* 24: 222-24, 1945.

[12] J. Eager and M. B. Smith. "A Note on the Validity of Sanford's Authoritarian-Equalitarian Scale." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 47:265-67; 1952.

more they resist authoritarian control. He concluded that children not only resent autocratic, domineering procedures on the part of the teacher, but that through junior high school, the antagonism increases with the age of the children.[13]

Anderson and others studied the effects of teacher behavior upon young children. Their experiments showed that the nature of teacher-pupil interaction is more a reflection of the kind of person the teacher is than of the characteristics of the children with whom he is interacting. Some teachers whom they observed consistently used dominative behavior. They determined the goals, discouraged communication, and responded to children's aggressive behavior by using force or threats. Children who had *power* used *over* them in these ways, showed uneasiness in the classroom and resistance to teacher domination. In cases where there was conflict between the teacher and the child, teacher domination maintained the conflict, at the same time stifling initiative and spontaneity.

Other teachers tended to use socially integrative behavior. They were inclined to accept children as they were, to allow communication of ideas and feelings, to elicit the cooperation of children in working toward teacher goals, or to try to build common purposes, without forcing acceptance of teacher goals or ideas. They used and encouraged children to use *power with* others. Children with these teachers showed more spontaneity, initiative, and social response.[14]

Interaction Patterns Affect Pupil Behavior

Studies by Lewin, Lippitt, and White are among the best known of those examining the effect of climate upon work and interpersonal relations.

A club situation. Using ten-year-old boys and their club leaders, the

[13] S. C. Tiedeman. "A Study of Pupil-Teacher Relationships." *Journal of Educational Research* 35:657-64; 1942.

[14] H. H. Anderson, "Domination and Social Integration in the Behavior of Kindergarten Children and Teachers," *Genetic Psychology Monograph* 21:287-385, 1939; H. H. Anderson and E. Brewer, "Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personalities II: Effects of Teachers' Dominative and Integrative Contacts on Children's Classroom Behavior," *Applied Psychology Monograph No. 8*, Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, June 1946; H. H. Anderson, E. Brewer and M. F. Reed, "Studies in Teachers' Classroom Personalities III: Follow-up Studies of the Dominative and Integrative Contacts in Child Behavior," *Applied Psychology Monograph No. 11*, Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, December 1946. For an interpretation of the findings of these studies, see Leonard Carmichael, editor, *Manual of Child Psychology*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., second edition, 1954, p. 1183, 1186, 1190-94.

investigators analyzed the effects of three experimentally induced social climates. The interaction pattern of the leader differed according to the climate that was sought:

Democratic Climate	*Laissez-faire Climate*	*Autocratic Climate*
The leader:	The leader:	The leader:
1. Encouraged group discussion and decisions about policies and procedures.	1. Allowed groups complete freedom in deciding policies and procedures.	1. Made almost all decisions regarding policies and procedures.
2. Participated as a group member.	2. Did not participate in group activities.	2. Participated with the group only when demonstrating or directing.
3. Allowed choice of work companions.	3. Allowed choice of work companions.	3. Dictated group membership.
4. Helped group gain a perspective of their aims and the general steps they would take to meet them.	4. Expressed willingness to supply information, if needed.	4. Kept boys from gaining perspective of the total job to be done by directing step by step the procedures to be followed in carrying out the activities which he had predetermined.
5. Was objective in his praise and criticism.	5. Made no systematic attempt to evaluate, either positively or negatively.	5. Was personal in his praise and criticism; kept standards of evaluation to himself.

In general, the behavior of the leader in the "democratic climate" produced the most cohesive, constructive and cooperative relations among club members. The "laissez-faire climate" invited more disruptive and aggressive behavior. In the "autocratic climate" there were much aggressive domination and persecution of scapegoats in the boys' relationship with each other. Expressions of hostility, resistance, and unfriendly criticism were frequent. Competition was markedly higher than in the other groups. The boys related to the leader in one of two

ways: either aggressively against him or by submissive acquiescence to his control.

When 20 boys who had experienced the three types of climate were interviewed, 19 stated that they liked the leader in the democratic setting better. Seven out of ten expressed a preference for the laissez-faire over the autocratic climate. One expressed a liking for the autocratic leader "because he was strict." [15]

School situations. Cunningham identified five interaction patterns and children's reactions to each:

Interaction Pattern	*Reaction*
1. Adult rule, child obedience	Docile obedience or open hostility
2. Planless catch-as-catch-can	Confusion, insecurity, competition among pupils, subgroups, or between pupils and teachers
3. Teacher planning with individuals	Appreciation of individual attention; no favorable group interaction
4. Adult-directed group planning	Insecurity, if things planned were beyond the capabilities of the group; tend toward adult rule, if planning provided less than pupils could handle; maximum cooperation, if opportunities were well-paced for children
5. Group self-management through group planning	Maximum learning efficiency and attainment of democratic goals *if* group had skills in group interaction.

Though adult-directed group planning and group self-management through group planning represent highest levels of interaction, the authors noted that effective teachers use all patterns, according to the

[15] K. Lewin and R. K. White. "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates.'" *Journal of Social Psychology* 10:271-99; 1939. Also K. Lewin, "Experiments on Autocratic and Democratic Atmospheres," *The Social Frontier* 4:316-19, 1938; R. Lippitt, "An Experimental Study of Democratic and Authoritarian Group Atmospheres," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare* 16:43-195, 1940; K. Lewin and R. Lippitt, "An Experimental Approach to the Study of Autocracy and Democracy: A Preliminary Note," *Sociometry* 1:292-300, 1938.

appropriateness of the pattern to the situation. Adult-rule child obedience may be necessary in emergency situations; a planless catch-as-catch-can pattern may provide a valuable learning situation; teacher planning with individuals may provide help for those less skilled. As the authors state, "Subgoals may determine a variety of patterns within a larger pattern for reaching a larger goal."

A kind teacher, they found, can get by with the use of a rigid adult-rule pattern, the kindness overshadowing the pattern; or an experience with failure may offset a favorable pattern, killing self-motivation —the failure overshadowing the pattern.[16]

Teacher's Language Affects Pupil Behavior

An important aspect of teacher behavior is the language he uses. Generalizations pertaining to the effects of a teacher's language upon children's behavior are reported by Otto in a review of Johnson's study:

1. Simple positive requests were always more effective than threats.
2. Hurrying a child tended to delay rather than to expedite matters.
3. Pleasant requests were more effective than scolding in encouraging children to try new things, to persist in difficult tasks or to change activities.
4. "You can do it," "That's right," "You are getting it" were more useful phrases than "That's wrong," or "You missed it."
5. Simple directions helped more than lengthy statements or remarks irrelevant to the desired action.[17]

In the Anderson studies, teachers who aroused conflict in their relations with children used such phrases as "Hurry up," "Don't do it that way," "Stop talking with your mouth full," "If you can't do what you're supposed to do, you'll have to go out in the hall." Those who demonstrated socially integrative behavior used phrases such as "Who would like to sing?" "Does anyone know how Mary is feeling today?" "I'll just give you an idea." "Yours may be smaller or larger."

Teacher responses influence initiative. A relationship between initiative and teachers' responses to children's questions appeared in an action research study reported by Foshay and Wann. Teachers responded to children's questions "by asking them to make suggestions, by indicating the factors involved, and by pointing to the problem, then led the children to be self-directive (independent) in their own

[16] Ruth Cunningham and Associates, *op. cit.*, 44-50.

[17] Marguerite W. Johnson, *Verbal Influences on Children's Behavior*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1938, in Henry J. Otto, *Social Education in Elementary Schools*, New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1956, p. 77-78.

problem-solving activities." Their findings indicated that this form of teacher-pupil interaction "was a powerful force in helping our children to be self-governing individuals, at least as far as classroom behavior is concerned." [18]

They concluded that:

1. The amount of initiative the children show is probably related to classroom climate.

2. Children have to be relatively free to try things out and they have to be quite sure of the teacher's basic support of them before they will initiate anything of importance in the classroom.[19]

Implications for Teachers

Skills in cooperative group procedures help each child relate to others. They are required for democratic living.

Children must practice cooperative procedures. The skills of cooperative group endeavor are learned through practice. If children do not operate well in adult-directed group planning or in group self-management, the teacher cannot abandon his responsibility by saying, "I tried it. It doesn't work—at least, not for my children. They are not ready for it." He must, instead, seek to discover why "it" didn't work. Children with little experience in individual or group self-management cannot be expected to take the giant step into complete responsibility for total management of an endeavor. Sometimes they need guidance from the teacher; sometimes, definition of the limits within which they are to operate; always, at all levels of competence, they need opportunities to consult and evaluate in order to determine what went well, where difficulties arose and to try again, putting into practice the insights they have gained. Some situations, as Cunningham reported, require adult control or teacher planning with an individual.

A danger signal. The finding that a kind teacher can "get by" with rigid control presents an overwhelming charge to teachers who classify under this category. Children are learning their responses to authority in their interaction with their teacher. To learn to do what a benevolent leader asks with no thought of the freedoms that are being nullified in the process is a dangerous learning for members of a free society.

It is possible in the kindest of ways to rob children of their rights to make choices and learn by the consequences, to follow their own purposes, analyze results, and thus learn to purpose more effectively

[18] Arthur W. Foshay, Kenneth D. Wann and Associates. *Children's Social Values.* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1954. p. 118.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

and wisely. This use of kindness is not conducive to the best development of children or to the attainment of democratic social learnings.

In a report of social discrimination in children, it was found that unprejudiced children were seen by their classmates as acting "the way grown-ups want them to" and "not minding being bossed or told what to do." [20] If this finding holds for the general population of children who are relating rather effectively to others, it is urgent that teachers recognize the power they have and use it *with children*, not *over* them, no matter how benevolent they may be while doing the latter.

Whatever operates in the educational system to dull the growing child's awareness of the external control which is being exerted over him (and a rigid adult-rule pattern, though exercised by a kind teacher, does have this effect) serves to undermine the strength of a democratic society. This danger has been a matter of concern to many who study the foundation of democratic life and child development in a democratic society. Erikson expressed this concern in his reflections on the American identity:

> For the sake of its emotional health, a democracy cannot afford to let matters develop to a point where intelligent youth, proud in its independence and burning with initiative, must leave matters of legislation, law and general policy to 'insiders" and "bosses." American youth can gain the full measure of its identity and of its vitality only by being fully aware of autocratic trends in this and any other land as they repeatedly emerge from changing history. . . . Men and women in power must make a concerted effort to overcome the rooted conception that man, for his own good, must be subject to "machine" either in politics, business, education, or entertainment. . . . The very fact that . . . they do not contemplate rebellion (as those seem to fear who would gag their sources of information) obligates us to protect youth against a state of affairs which make their gestures of free men seem hollow and their faith unfounded.[21]

Though this incisive declaration of the responsibility of adult leaders has ramifications penetrating into all aspects of the school's program for social learnings, at this point it may be used to underscore the urgency for all teachers to reexamine the practices they use in controlling children.

The boy in the Lewin, Lippitt and White studies, is not alone in calling for a "strict" leader. The studies of prejudiced personality revealed that insecure children seek a strong leader who will make

[20] E. Frenkel-Brunswik. "Studies of Social Discrimination in Children." *American Psychologist* 1:456; 1946.

[21] Erik H. Erikson. *Childhood and Society*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1950. p. 283.

decisions for them. It is also true that children can become so accustomed to domination that they accept it without question.

In the Cunningham study, when children were asked how they felt about the amount of control they experienced at school, nearly all of the third and fourth graders thought it was about right. Of the 34 eighth graders who responded, half thought it was about right and slightly more than one-third thought it was too little. The authors expressed concern, equal to Erikson's, over children's readiness to consent to an excessive amount of control. "The fact that certain types of adult control which because we know the form, we feel to be unfortunate for children, are accepted because they are expected, or because they are needed for security, is, we believe, a danger signal. . . . This pattern of expectation of control should be of grave concern to adults responsible for the education of young people in a democracy." [22]

Learning takes time. Teachers and administrators who are moving toward more democratic ways of living with children should anticipate some increase in aggressive behavior. In the Cunningham and Lewin studies, children often exhibited sudden outbursts of aggression when they moved from a repressive environment to one which permitted and encouraged choices, cooperative procedures, freedom of movement and communication. Experimenters explain this as a bursting out of bottled-up tensions when pressure is removed. Cunningham remarked that the democratic teacher has a more difficult time if children come to him from a situation in which there is little opportunity for a normal release of energy. She proposed that teachers meet to discuss the interaction patterns they use and the way the patterns might be modified in terms of goals for group living.[23]

There is no sudden transformation in children's perceptual readiness for more democratic ways of living and learning. All children need time, consideration and help when they are altering their patterns of behavior and establishing the limits inherent in a new situation.

Cooperative living requires sincerity. Teachers who wish to foster democratic behavior must be sincere and honest—with themselves and with children. Insincerity and dishonesty introduce negative learnings.

[22] Ruth Cunningham and Associates, *op. cit.*, p. 40-42.

[23] H. H. and Gladys L. Anderson, "Social Development," *Manual of Child Psychology*, edited by Leonard Carmichael, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., second edition, 1954, p. 1197, 1206; Ruth Cunningham and Associates, *Understanding the Group Behavior of Boys and Girls*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951, p. 44-45; K. Lewin, R. Lippitt and K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" *Journal of Social Psychology* 10:283, 1939.

Insincerity is present when teachers pretend to plan with children but merely manipulate the situation so children accept what the teachers had planned previously. An all too common remark is, "You know what you want them to do and get them to agree to it, but you make them think it was their idea." This represents a somewhat naive conception of children's intelligence. Worse than that, it reflects a lack of concern for the negative learnings which may become attached to cooperative endeavors. Children know only too well what is happening. Witness one third grader's words: "Oh, yes, we can plan what we want to do as long as we are sure to plan what the teacher already planned that she wanted us to plan."

Teachers do and should plan experiences for children. They then have to help the children find genuine purposes in what the teachers have planned. There is neither reason nor gain in pretending that the original plan was the children's.

Similarly, teachers invite negative learnings when they try to veil underlying feelings of rejection with surface smiles. Their insincerity is readily sensed by children.

It is safe to say that the teacher who operates on the premise that he can put something over on children, regardless of their age, fools only one person in the classroom—himself.

Language influences social learnings. Language and the way it is used significantly influence social learnings. A teacher's use of language in his interaction with children can teach either that the world is an arbitrary place or that it is a friendly place. With language, as with other behaviors, a child gets his cues for its use from the ways in which others use it when relating to him. In his social interaction, he will reflect the learnings he has gained. The self-other relationships which the school seeks may be hampered if children have copied a language pattern which expresses domination over others, or they may be facilitated by the use of language which connotes a spirit of working with others.

An Environment Which Builds Good Feelings

Strongly conditioning personality development, school learning, and problem solving in an increasingly interdependent world are the feelings a person bears—feelings toward himself, toward those with whom he has face-to-face contacts, and those whom he may know only vicariously. Neither the individual nor a democratic society can maintain a healthy existence without a large measure of good feelings. Though educators are wont to pay little heed to the feeling aspect of

behavior, they cannot hope to attain social learning goals without making conscious efforts to build good feelings.

The Child's Feelings Toward Himself Count

The feelings a child bears toward himself have a heavy impact upon his interpersonal relations and his approach to learning.

Negative self-feelings invite hostility. When a child sees himself as unwanted and unworthy of love and respect, when he feels inadequate to perform the tasks and roles expected of him, when he is filled with anger and hostility, he tends to find a world of unfriendly, untrustworthy, inadequate people. He may project his unpleasant feelings onto others, especially onto those whom the social climate indicates are acceptable targets for the expression of his hostile feelings.

Feelings affect learning. A child who is hampered by feelings of unhappiness, inadequacy, guilt or resentment is so confused and preoccupied with his inner feelings that he cannot behave in a problem-solving way. He cannot approach his school tasks with energy, zest and initiative. Once he has been freed from some of his anxieties and worries, he becomes free to make use of the potentialities he has. According to Johnson, "Many students whom we believe are incapable of thinking are quite capable of it once they have been relieved of their anxieties and fears." [24]

Unpleasant feelings come to school. Coming to school are some children who have received such abuse from the adult world that they inwardly distrust themselves and outwardly present a generally hostile attitude toward society.

Other children bring pictures of an unworthy self, feelings of inferiority, open or veiled hostility which arise from being the target of discrimination. Even young children, as Sullivan so clearly stated, "will show pretty durable evidence of having been in an inferior position with respect to other compeers whom they were compelled to respect, however painfully and unwillingly, because of their social preferment." [25]

There is a remedial job to be done. The feelings of inferiority, unworthiness, discouragement and failure which are the lot of some children bode ill for a society which depends upon the good feelings

[24] Earl S. Johnson. *Theory and Practice of the Social Studies.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956. p. 27. By permission of The Macmillan Company.

[25] Harry Stack Sullivan. *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1953. p. 236.

and voluntary participation of all its members. The mitigation of such feelings is one task of social education within the schools. Educators face the responsibility of structuring a social environment in which these children can begin to look upon themselves as decent, worthwhile and necessary members of both the school and the wider society.

The task is not easy. It requires understanding, patience and time. New ways of looking at oneself and others come neither readily nor easily. When early interpersonal relationships have left a child uncertain and fearful of the willingness of others to accept him, he has special difficulty in establishing new relations. All his haunting fears and doubts lead him to anticipate difficulties in the new situation. He may act aggressively toward a child whom he would like for a friend or use other inappropriate methods to try to get himself a pal. He may be so convinced that nobody could like him that he withdraws and makes no attempt to establish a productive relationship with new people—either peers or adults. He is likely to identify the teacher with the hostile adults he knows. It will take time, understanding, and both overt and covert assurance before he can be sure that here is an adult whom he can trust.

There is a supporting job to be done. Those who bring unpleasant feelings must receive support from people at school while they struggle to relate effectively in their school world. Those who bring robust, positive feelings must have school experiences which sustain good feelings. All need experiences which help them give and receive good feelings within a widening social environment.

Concern with a child's good feelings about himself is not a matter of developing self-satisfaction or self-righteousness. It is a matter of helping a child gain a realistic, non-depreciative attitude toward himself as a person, with his limitations and abilities. It is not a matter of viewing the child apart from others. The child always sees himself in relation to other people. It is a matter of building good feelings out of and in the midst of warm, friendly, accepting interpersonal relations. As Fromm has said, "Love of others and love of ourselves are not alternatives. On the contrary, an attitude of love towards themselves will be found in all those who are capable of loving others. It is true that selfish people are incapable of loving others, but they are not capable of loving themselves either." [28]

General Aids to Building Good Feelings

Climate. Generally speaking, most children can be helped in a friendly group climate, with a teacher who will support them, help

[28] Erich Fromm. *Man for Himself.* New York: Rinehart and Co., 1947. p. 129.

them deal with their unpleasant feelings, and find constructive ways for them to join with others in the group. If he can find children and other adults who offer respect and support and stand behind him as he attempts things on his own, a child can gradually build the senses of trust, initiative, independence and achievement which enable him to face deprivations as well as satisfactions.

All kinds of gains help. Teachers have found that a satisfying relationship with the teacher, or with another child, or the achievement of some new skill which has personal and social value can add immeasurably to sturdy feelings about self. When school tasks are carefully geared to what the child can accomplish so that he becomes success-oriented, his view of himself and his relations with others show positive gains. Anything which enables a child to see himself as effective in one area seems to add strength in other areas.

New experiences. Important to the child are the new skills and increased acquaintance with the unfamiliar which school offers. When he acquires new skills and new knowledge in situations which demonstrate their value to him and to his group, he adds immeasurably to his good feelings.

Teachers who are concerned that good feelings become the possession of all children examine interpersonal relations and all curriculum experiences from two angles: (a) to determine the feelings they evoke, and (b) to determine the contributions they can make to building friendly attitudes. They discover many factors which operate to keep positive feelings in the picture.

School Is a Friendly Place

Each child needs to feel that school is a friendly place where he is accepted. Acceptance is spelled out in his interpersonal relationships at school—relationships which let him know and feel that he is wanted and needed, not as he may be some day, but as he is today. Being accepted in encounters away from home, in Biber's opinion, "gives the child a deepened feeling of self-acceptance. To the degree that feelings toward others reflect feelings toward oneself, this deepened feeling of self-acceptance must represent also a step ahead in the direction of positive social development." [27]

In the Foshay and Wann studies, children's social attitudes and behaviors were closely related to their acceptance in the group. They found that "the degree to which a child habitually follows through on class plans is directly related to the degree of his acceptance by others

[27] Barbara Biber, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

in the class," and "that 'considerateness' and 'inconsiderateness' are so closely related to group acceptance as probably to be an expression of it." [28]

Teachers are friends. In a friendly school, the child finds teachers who like and respect him as he is, who give him a chance to succeed with whatever limitations and strengths he has. Teachers may wish he had acquired learnings other than those he has acquired, but they realize that he cannot immediately change those learnings. They realize, too, that he did not deliberately set out to learn what he has learned in the way he learned it. They accept him as a fellow human being to be respected and helped to gain learnings which enable him to live at peace with himself and in communion with others. They know that a child who is respected learns from being treated with respect and thus is enabled to respect others.

Friendly teachers also support and give help. They encourage a child to try new things, to make choices of his own. They gear tasks to his level and help him to do things that matter to him, to gain status in the eyes of classmates, to expand his horizons and learn more about the exciting world in which he lives. They help him become more independent, more confident that he is a person with worthy ideas and opinions.

To say that each child is helped to become more independent, more capable of seeing himself as an individual in his own right, does not say that his independence is a quality exercised out of a relationship to others. It is perhaps more accurate to speak of a change in the quality of interdependence. As he becomes increasingly able to exercise his own judgment, to look after himself and his possessions, to have ideas and opinions of his own, the child relates to others in these terms. And as he acquires these strengths in interaction with others, he gains feelings of being linked to other people.

Children are friends. A school which is a friendly place also includes children who are friends, who will join with a fellow and help him with his important undertakings. In the environment of such a school are time and places for friends to get together. There are opportunities voluntarily to join with other children to enjoy an activity, to get a job done, or just to be in close association with peers. There are no derogatory labels such as "immature" or "overly dependent" attached to the distinctly human characteristic of finding self-enhancement in companionship with others.

Through the very presence of other children, a child is invited to

[28] Arthur W. Foshay, Kenneth D. Wann and Associates, *op. cit.*, p. 91, 146.

expand his horizons and enlarge the scope of his activities. Peers challenge each other to try out new skills, to attempt activities they have not tried before, to explore the environment in new and exciting ways. These people, so nearly alike in what they can do, give one another cues for new things to try out, new things to be interested in. To the extent that relationships with peers bring a child new competence, new interests, new opportunities to use the abilities he has, he can add immeasurably to his good feelings toward himself and others.

"Important" people are respected. A child feels good when the important people in his life are respected. When the teacher's tone is pleasanter, his time freer, and his attitude more receptive to some parents than to others, children learn that some are more acceptable than others. One aspect of accepting important people is accepting the values and behaviors regarded as "right" by those people. A long stride in this direction is taken when children are in on the decisions that are made. Then a child whose culture has taught him, for instance, that to call attention to one's own achievements is improper will not be forced to act in ways which contradict his present values. He will not be thrown into unnecessary conflict by having the teacher hold up or display something he has made or make him read his personal writing to others in the group.

It is imperative that a teacher strive to know the behavior values held in esteem by the religious or ethnic groups to which a child belongs. Only then can he communicate well with the child and respect behaviors which are based upon a cultural orientation different from his own. The teaching task is to see that dignity and security are the lot of all children. Differences which are not harmful are to be respected and children are not to be censured because they are not all alike. As Martin says, "The one value to which the school should give its unqualified allegiance is that of heterogeneity." [20] It is guaranteed by human nature, is required to make a complex, industrialized society work, and is needed to add richness and flavor to living.

A continuing need of each child is to find support in the family group, to know that it is a group on which he can depend for care and guidance. This need presents a warning. Whatever is done to screen out anti-democratic learnings must be done in ways which do not turn the child against his family or other face-to-face groups. One important democratic learning must not come at the expense of another.

[20] W. E. Martin. "Values, Too, Can Cause Discrimination." *Educational Leadership* 12:93; 1954.

Plans for studying occupations by utilizing the work done by parents may cause some children to feel uncomfortable and less acceptable. Placing pictures of parents on a bulletin board likewise may cause unfair comparisons. The teacher has a grave responsibility to examine all activities to assure that he is not subjecting some children to uncomfortable feelings.

Rules About Human Relations Are Avoided

Schools which help children face life realistically do not attempt to make rules about feelings and interpersonal relationships. This practice only creates discrepancies between the reality the child experiences and the ideal he is encouraged to hold for himself. Teachers do not, for instance, write charts which say, "We all love baby sister," or "The policeman is our friend." Children know that we do not *all* love baby sister *all* of the time, nor are *all* policemen friendly. Their experience may have shown policemen to be anything but friendly. Children need to learn about people through many experiences—both direct and indirect—from which they can build generalizations that accord with reality—that policemen are people, each different from the other; that sometimes it is hard to feel love for a baby.

Personal Choices Count

When teachers are concerned with a child's good feelings, they respect his wish to be alone, if need be. They help children work out plans which allow a child to have access to cherished materials or comfortable, quiet nooks. They respect his right to express himself *his* way, to choose materials with which he can express his ideas and feelings. No humiliation is attached to trying something different, or "not filling the paper," or "not making it big."

There is no pressure to engage in group experiences which a child does not understand, for which he has not requisite skills, or which make him less and less sure of himself. Yet, there are exciting things to do with or in the presence of other children so that he does not learn habits of avoiding interaction with peers.

Materials and activities are varied enough to allow *all* students to participate in satisfying pursuits, to relate positively to others. Miel and Brogan believe that:[30]

The problem for [the] teacher in structuring the school setting is to avoid the sort of group participation in which children must show that they

[30] Alice Miel and Peggy Brogan, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

are either in or out. He must plan the kind of classroom which allows for enough ways of participating for all children to be free to show *their* ways of being *in*, of participating constructively in the group.

The School Environment Engenders Feelings

School experiences inevitably involve children in a great deal of emotion. The process of learning to live in a world with others is accompanied by conflicts and struggles. When children move into new contacts and are introduced to a wider social world, there are necessarily moments of sorrow and despair, and moments of joy and exhilaration. The very presence of other children, the social tools and skills which must be mastered, force a reappraisal of self and a restructuring of one's image of self. At best, the process of maintaining a view of oneself as adequate and competent produces its share of feelings, both troublesome and satisfying. At worst, the experiences at school may shatter what was previously a rather satisfactory self-picture, leaving a child confused and uncertain.

Neither teachers nor children can avoid feeling angry or discouraged at times. As children interact with each other, they are bound to quarrel, have misunderstandings, and say ugly things, though the next moment, they may be thoughtful and sympathetic toward the very people whom they have just abused. Children will discover that they cannot do some things that others can do, that they must give up some of their ways, that they must share time, space, possessions and even the teacher. Some plans will be thwarted; some ideas criticized; some faults corrected. At times, a child will become discouraged when he doesn't live up to his own expectations, when he feels he has failed to live up to the expectations of others, or when others do not respond as he expected they would. Some may hurt deeply because they find no status in the school group or because they are not achieving useful skills.

Inadequate way of handling feelings. There is a tendency in American culture to encourage the denial of feelings—both positive and negative. Instead of helping the growing child deal with his feelings and learn to use them constructively, the atmosphere which surrounds him usually indicates, subtly or openly, that he should rid himself of strong feelings, or at least not reveal them. Since he cannot change his humanness and avoid responding with feelings, he usually gets the idea that he is bad or somehow different because he harbors strong feelings—whether positive or negative.

Tryon reports the banter of deprecation, irreverence and parody with which a group of high school juniors and seniors responded to the awesome beauty of a canyon. She judged that "to have [expressed awe or delight or enjoyment] would have been regarded as a weakness. . . . These boys and girls were probably trying, in typical American fashion, to hide or deny their positive, aesthetic feelings." [31]

Clinical studies reveal the danger of handling feelings in this way. When a person feels guilty or inferior or different because he harbors certain feelings, though he may deny his feelings and try to behave as he thinks others want him to, he succeeds only in crippling his own self-realization. He may, in fact, be learning to lead a narrow, defeated sort of existence.

Encouraging friendly feelings. If pleasant feelings do not find expression in social relationships, in activities and communication media, they may be pushed aside and fail to enhance the quality of living. Children need teachers and other children who will exult with them, share their moments of joy, exhilaration and aesthetic response. They need materials and time and space to give expression to their feelings.

Recognizing children's positive and pleasant contributions extends beyond the pleasant feelings which spring spontaneously from achievement and happy experiences. It includes providing materials and activities which evoke pleasant experiences and encouraging children to communicate their happy feelings, each in his own idiosyncratic way. It involves moments of retrospection when, individually or in groups, children can recognize the zest to living which comes from joyous, pleasant feelings.

Accepting unpleasant feelings. Accepting a child's feelings also includes respecting his right to be human and have unpleasant feelings. This does not include accepting and approving any behavior; rather, it requires that the teacher stand by the child who gives vent to his feelings, letting him know that *he* still is accepted and respected and helping him learn how to channel his feelings in socially acceptable ways.

Strong feelings of any sort need to be expressed. If unpleasant feelings are not recognized and expressed in acceptable ways, they show up in devious ways. They may gnaw inwardly or they may be projected upon others. In any event, they tend to give the child a distorted view of himself and the world. If given expression, however,

[31] Caroline Tryon. "Some Conditions of Good Mental Health." *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools.* 1950 Yearbook. Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, a department of the National Education Association, 1950. p. 4.

things take a happier turn. Baruch says, "When unwanted *negative feelings* have emptied out sufficiently, then warm and good positive feelings flow in." [32]

The suggestion commonly offered for dealing with negative feelings is that (a) the teacher recognize feelings as real, and therefore valid, (b) he set social limits and give the reasons for these limits, (c) he offer a socially acceptable way of releasing tensions. Teachers do not ask that a child bury his feelings within himself nor do they permit him to express them in ways which will be destructive to his own positive feelings about himself or which will harm others or valuable property.

When outbursts of anger or fear are accepted without punishment or condemnation in an atmosphere characterized by friendliness, several beneficial results may ensue. Jersild mentions some:

> The child may discover, much to his surprise, that a person can have and express pretty intense feelings without losing friends. Learning that feelings are not bad in themselves may give the child quite a different view of his unpleasant feelings and free him of some of the burden of secrecy. He can relax a bit and not feel so strong a need to hide within himself. He may soon discover that he is not queer. Others have their troubles too.[33]

A teacher can do much, Jersild says, "by being an understanding adult who lets the child know the teacher realizes the struggle the child is undergoing. He can do this by means of a glance or by noticeably keeping his mouth shut. He can do it by a kind of understanding patience which allows the child to express his annoyances . . . or to voice his grievances. . . ." But, in Jersild's mind, this is not easy. He says, "One of the hardest things to learn in dealing with troubled children is to keep one's mouth shut until one has something meaningful to say (and when one has found the meaningful response one often discovers it is best expressed by silence)." [34]

The teacher becomes involved in a process of discriminating decision-making, when children get into wrangles with each other. Very effective learning can ensue from working things through with one's peers. But when is the tension too great? When does the teacher need to step in? Too hasty interruption by the teacher or too careful structuring of situations may defeat these important opportunities for socialization.

[32] Dorothy Baruch. *New Ways in Discipline*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949. p. 45.

[33] Arthur T. Jersild, *Child Psychology*. Fourth edition. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954. p. 616.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

Planned experiences. There are many chances for the teacher to engage children in experiences and studies which extend their opportunities to give and receive warm, friendly feelings. Planning ways to welcome the newcomer; ways to help children or adults who are crippled, blind, deaf, ill; ways to offer service to older or younger children; exchanging letters, stamps, art products with children in other lands are but a few of the many opportunities which help children lead a happier life and gain knowledge and cooperative skills at the same time.

Creative activities of all sorts allow children to express their feelings: clay modeling, construction activities, listening to and responding to music which expresses differing moods, painting, drawing, pantomiming, dramatizing, role playing and spontaneous play. Reading to children, children's own reading of stories they select, invitations for writing on special topics such as "Things That Make Me Mad," "Things That Make Me Glad," are other means teachers use to enable children to get into closer touch with their feelings and gain insight into their own behavior and the behavior of others.

Newspaper articles, pictures, stories built around problems which children have faced, and role playing offer material for discussion of such items as (a) what is happening, (b) how the people felt, (c) whether or not the children have ever felt that way, and (d) better ways of working out the difficulties.

Generalizing from experiences. Children gain their understandings of interpersonal relations and feelings from the experiences through which they live. A strong residue of good feelings built from many and varied experiences would seem necessary before children are asked to take on the task of verbalizing their feelings. Yet, some verbalization and generalization are necessary for clear understanding and control.

Unfortunately for the teacher, this is an area in which uncertainty exists. There is no unqualified answer as to how or when children should be encouraged to probe their feelings and human relations on a conscious level.

Witmer and Kotinsky, among others, believe that the attempt to understand and change feelings should be closely related to living through experiences which evoked the feelings. When living through and learning about are experienced conjointly, they think social sensitivity may become the possession of many children.[25]

Generally speaking, when children are free to explore, work and

[25] Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, editors. *Personality in the Making.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. p. 259-60.

play in an environment where there is warm human affection, most of them will find ways of expressing their negative feelings. They will show in one form or another both the pleasant and the unpleasant in their lives. To the sensitive teacher, their play and creative expressions, the way they go about their everyday living in school, their mannerisms, posture and facial expressions will communicate much about their feelings. Curriculum content in the form of role playing, response to pictures, and stories, might then be introduced to help children with problems they have encountered.

It may be that when teachers become more adept at gaining clues from children's behavior, they can judge more accurately the time when "learning about" is a helpful supplement to "living through." Children's spontaneous verbalizations of their generalizations may indicate a readiness in this area just as it does in the relatively simple matter of word analysis.

Some certainties. The relationships between the children and the teacher and among children will determine whether or not the children feel free to express their own feelings and ideas. Children do not experience this freedom simply by being told that it is all right to say whatever they like, unless their living together has shown that it *is* all right.

In any attempt to appraise the significance of a child's expression and responses, it is a mistake to generalize from meager evidence. The teacher who is in close touch with his pupils can fit together behavior in many situations to get some idea of a given child's way of feeling toward himself and others.

Of one thing, above all, the teacher can be absolutely confident. Whatever is done must respect the sensitivities of each child. Each must be permitted to respond in his own terms, to reveal as little or as much of his own feelings as he wishes.

Crucial questions. It is hard, at best, to build positive self-images and make social sensitivity a prized possession. Some salient questions which Biber raises deserve thoughtful consideration. She recognizes children's urgent need to talk out their problem but questions whether some techniques do not call out responses so deeply emotional that they cannot be safely dealt with in the classroom, especially by untrained teachers.

The factor of readiness, too, she thinks, should raise questions as to whether all children should be asked to express their intimate feelings at the same time. She questions, in particular, the use of any techniques to elicit responses before the child feels confident in his relation-

ship with the teacher and the other children. The teacher who helps children live with their unpleasant feelings will find himself in many situations when he must determine whether he should work with an individual child, a small group, or the total class.

Encouraging children to explore their negative feelings about friends and intimate family affairs may cause some to suffer pangs of remorse and guilt. Such feelings, Biber believes, would operate to interfere with the development of the very social sensitivity the techniques were designed to foster. Too much articulation and search for motivations on the conscious level may cause a child to "feel invaded rather than aided." [36]

One of six "good hypotheses" offered by Murphy submits a nice frame of reference for the teacher who is committed to fostering good feelings about self and others.

> Human relations will almost automatically be bettered if new ways of perceiving one's situation can be made available, not too solemnly but with zest and humor, through stories, skits, movies, or better still, actual games, parties, work projects. As the therapist would say, the person may be assisted in a friendly manner to see himself and his associates in an accepting way, parking his defenses and especially his sense of guilt outside the gate —perhaps reliving with Socrates the conception that evil is a form of misunderstanding, or repeating with Jesus the phrase: "Neither do I condemn thee." [37]

An Environment Which Affords Needed Identifications

In the school environment children find a social environment which affords them many people with whom to identify through both direct and indirect interaction. It is an environment which adults can structure to enable each child to gain identity with the constructive forces in society.

The Concept of Identification

Identifications are pervasive in their influence upon self-identity and social relations. They have much to do with the emotional tone of a person's life, particularly with his feelings about himself and others. They influence a child's readiness to find challenge in school activities.

Social psychologists view identification as the process through which a person develops an integrated set of roles and aspirations which direct his life. They are taken on "from parents, siblings, playmates,

[36] Barbara Biber, *op. cit.*, p. 187-98.

[37] Quoted in Margaret M. Heaton, *Feelings Are Facts*, New York: Published and distributed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

teachers, preachers and others, from present, historical and fictional characters and are worked over into his own thought and action." [38]

Peck describes identification as "largely an unconscious process of coming to 'feel like' the 'model' person with whom [the child] identifies and to perceive situations in the same way the 'model' perceives them." [39]

There are two aspects of identification which interrelate in determining the effect of the identifications a child makes: emotional and behavioral.[40]

Emotional Aspect of Identification

The emotional aspect of identification derives from the relationship between the child and the model. The child seems to identify because of love or fear or a combination of the two. Identification because of love brings pleasurable results; whereas, identification because of fear causes the child to accept standards because he is afraid of the punishment which would accompany any departure from them. Peck comments that "the latter, of course, is an effective way to rear children who will be fearful, covertly hostile, and afraid to change." [41]

There can be emotional identification without much behavioral identification. This, some authorities believe, is apt to be the lot of boys in our society who receive their training and education primarily from women. Blair and Burton report that the conflicts of preadolescent boys have been explained by some authorities as due to difficulties encountered in attaining masculine identification.[42] It may be noted that children's need for masculine identification is one of the factors underlying the movement to place more male teachers in the elementary school.

[38] R. J. Havighurst and others. "The Development of the Ideal Self." *Journal of Educational Research* 40:242; 1946.

[39] Robert Peck. "The Child Models Himself After His Favorite Model." *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools.* 1950 Yearbook. Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, a department of the National Education Association, 1950. p. 147.

[40] The point of view expressed in this analysis is the writers' interpretation of materials from the following sources: Millie Almy, *Child Development*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1955, p. 240-41; Robert Peck, *op. cit.*, p. 146-57; Arthur Witt Blair and William H. Burton, *Growth and Development of the Preadolescent*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951, p. 91-95, 216; Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1950, p. 207-218; Lee Cronbach, *Educational Psychology*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954, p. 310-25.

[41] Robert Peck, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[42] Arthur Witt Blair and William H. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

Behavioral Aspect of Identification

The behavioral aspect of identification involves the roles a child tries out and the behaviors he associates with the roles. Behavioral identity seems to take place most readily when the relationships are warm and the behavior is sufficiently consistent and clear to permit ease in copying. Almy suggests that behavioral without warm emotional identification may be a defense. "The hostile, aggressive, threatening father may have a son whose behavior takes on the same qualities. It is as though the child were saying, 'Perhaps I can be bigger and worse than you and then I will not need to fear you.' " [43]

Positive Factors Needed in Both Aspects

Behavioral imitation based upon unwholesome attitudes toward self and others gives little promise that the learnings thus acquired will be utilized in a socially constructive manner. Likewise, though the emotional aspects may be characterized as warm and accepting, the behavioral may constitute a threat to socially effective living. Thus, a child who lives in a home or school environment in which he sees behavior which indicates that some groups or individuals are better than others, or that it is all right to circumvent tax laws, may readily imitate such behavior.

Children need emotionally satisfying relationships with identifying figures who exemplify values and behaviors worthy of a child's admiration.

The Pervasive Influence of Identifications

In addition to accepting his model's attitudes and behaviors, the child identifies with his way of looking at things, with his general outlook. Thus, his orientation to the world takes color from the identifications he makes. Erikson explains how, through association with people important in his life, the child aligns himself with the forces governing the cultural development of his world and thus gains a sense of identity with it. He tells of a father walking to the engine yards with his daughter and calls this a felicitous act. "For now the real engines become symbols of power shared by father and daughter alike and sustained by the whole imagery of the machine culture in which this child is destined to become a woman." [44]

[43] Millie Almy, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[44] Erik H. Erikson, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

Influence upon learning. More frequently than is sometimes recognized, a child's identifications have much to say about his motivations for learning things which schools value highly. For instance, if adults important in his life read haltingly, do little reading, and have few or no books around, then the child himself may not be ready to read, in the sense that reading has little meaning to him. Witmer and Kotinsky make the comment that in such a case, "if the child's sense of autonomy is insufficient for him to take on reading on his own, it may remain for him always a little prized accomplishment, a bothersome and seldom-used tool." [45]

A child may reject learning which seems inappropriate to him in the light of his identifications, as when children reject neatness, manners, language patterns valued by the school. Or he may take on learnings for antisocial purposes; for instance, to exert his *power over* others, as was the case of the boy who identified through fear with his hostile, aggressive, domineering father. Witmer and Kotinsky state that a child may read to "bolster an independence of which he does not feel too sure; he may want to 'tell off' a parent who looms to him large and dominant. Then he may seek opportunity to do precisely as the parent does not do and reading either avidly or indifferently may offer him a means to distinguish himself from this parent sometimes in no uncertain terms." [46] At the opposite extreme are children who are eager to learn many school tasks simply because loved adults set great store by them. In fact, most children are probably ready to accept what is offered by a reasonable and friendly adult.

Relations to self-identity. A child's self-identity grows out of a gradual integration of all the identifications he makes. Under favorable circumstances, a child starts his self-identity as he achieves a basic sense of trust, but, according to Erikson's theory, a lasting sense of identity cannot be completed without a promise of fulfillment which at every step creates an accruing sense of ego strength.[47]

Individual-group identity. Throughout his development, Erikson says, the growing child must:

> . . . derive a vitalizing sense of reality from the awareness that his individual way of mastering experience . . . is a successful variant of a group identity and is in accord with its spacetime and life plan.
>
> In this sense children cannot be fooled by empty praise and condescending encouragement . . . their ego identity gains real strength only from

[45] Helen Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, editors. *Personality in the Making.* New York: Harpers and Brothers, College Dept., 1952. p. 254.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[47] Erik H. Erikson, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

wholehearted and consistent recognition of real accomplishment, i.e., of achievement that has meaning in the culture.[48]

The strength of the need to identify with the group in order to gain a sense of self-identity lies behind the antisocial activities of troubled youngsters, Erikson believes. "Analysis reveals," he says, "that they only wish to demonstrate their right to find an identity in the world of adults. . . . They refuse to become a specialty called 'child' who must play at being big because he is not given an opportunity to be a small partner in a big world."[49]

Self-image. The process of developing a self-identity is not one of slavishly imitating a chosen model; however, it is complicated by the growing child's tendency to look at himself through the eyes of others. If their ideas of what he should be do not fit his potentialities, if they create too great a discrepancy between what he is and what he ought to be, the child may experience feelings of inadequacy and guilt He perceives himself, as Murphy says, "in a fashion that depends less on his own direct experience than on the way in which adults see him." [50] He thus learns to deprecate the self he is. To learn to value the self, he must receive the sincere approval of people important in his life and meet with success in achieving tasks valued by the groups with which he is identified.

Developmental Changes in Identification

A child's identifications seem to follow a developmental sequence. The earliest identifications are with parents, and these tend to be most persistent. The child also identifies with other adults, particularly relatives, and with other children.

Studies indicate that the young child identifies with those in the immediate environment; whereas, older children identify with persons, real or fictional, in an extended environment. Peck presents a summary of research findings which show that developmental changes involve: the inclusion of teachers and other parent-like adults at the age of six or seven; glamorous hero figures, real or fictional, at eight or ten; an attractive young adult whom he knows and wishes to be like when he is anywhere from 10 to 16 years of age.[51] Havighurst and

[48] *Ibid,* p. 208.

[49] *Ibid.,* p. 210.

[50] Gardner Murphy. *Personality, A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. p. 497.

[51] Robert Peck, *op. cit.,* p. 50-51.

MacDonald found that the same pattern pertained with New Zealand children as with American children.[52]

These general trends present an oversimplified picture of a child's identifications. The child, when responding to questions, cannot give too accurate an account of his identifications simply because he is not too sure just whose example he does follow. Besides, what he says may be influenced more by what he believes will be approved than by what he actually thinks. Furthermore, regardless of age, as a child's world expands to include more people whom he knows personally, as well as persons in fiction, on radio or television, he will try out many roles found both in the immediate and the extended environment. His identifications will overlap and shift, some fading and some growing in dominance, as he tries out various roles and as his needs change.

Growing into adolescence, a child accepts an ideal which is more often a composite of many identifications than of a single identifying figure. If all goes well, the growing adolescent "will be ready to select and choose those that are right for [him] and who can be synthesized into [his] new image of the person [he] wishes to be." [53]

Identification, like other processes of socialization, continues throughout life. Even adults take values and behaviors from those whom they admire. Cronbach states that "a mark of maturity is a decrease in blind emotional identification . . . and an increased ability to criticize the hero's example. This objectivity depends upon the individual's sense of worth, upon his feeling that 'I am all right even if I disagree with this admirable person.'" [54]

Looking at Children's Identifications

To know something about the identifications a child is making enables the teacher to gain some idea of the sort of person the child is and what he tends to admire. Not all persons, either real or fictional, with whom children identify provide them with roles, values and aspirations which favor the development of socially desirable meanings. Nevertheless, children, because of their proximity to these people, do identify with them and do tend to accept their values and behavior.

[52] R. J. Havighurst and D. V. MacDonald. "Development of the Ideal Self in New Zealand and American Children." *Journal of Educational Research* 49:263-73; 1955. Other related studies are D. S. Hill, "Personification of Ideals by Urban Children," *Journal of Social Psychology* 1:379-92, 1930; M. L. Stoughton and A. M. Ray, "A Study of Children's Heroes and Ideals," *Journal of Experimental Education* 15:156-60, 1946; R. J. Havighurst and others, "The Development of the Ideal Self in Childhood and Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Research* 40:241-57, December 1946.

[53] Millie Almy, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[54] Lee Cronbach, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

Start with present identifications. Teachers, though they hope to influence positive identifications, have to start with the identifications children have made. They accept them as important determiners of behavior. They accept them as indicators of children's needs and their developing self-images. That is, they accept a child's identifications as a means to understanding the child.

View identifications through the child's eyes. Along with this, teachers accept the thought that they should avoid too hasty a deprecation of the models a child selects, for they cannot be too sure that there are not some important values which they, as adults and outsiders, do not see. Children do not have adult maturity with which to view their identifications and so do not necessarily identify with certain characteristics which seem appalling to adults. Many adults, for example, are alarmed at children's identification with fictional cowboys. Bryson, however, sees such identification as an opportunity to get notions of freedom. He writes:

> When a boy charges through the backyard, popping well-imagined cattle rustlers in their fleeing backs, he is, in imagination, realizing a boy's dream with a man's power . . . above all, with a man's freedom. . . . His concept of heroism is noble, simple, and sincere. . . . But is this period of freebooting among dreams . . . an ineffective first phase of training for democracy? I would not think so.[55]

Recognize unwholesome influences. This is not to say that there is not much in the culture which invites a child to identify with unwholesome models. The complaint, though, should go, not against the child, but against social conditions and those who offer reading materials, radio and television programs which ply a child with false and unrealistic ideas. One task confronting the social educator is that of acting with other responsible citizens to improve the social conditions which permit irresponsible use of communication media.

Facilitating Desirable Identifications

For the child to take on the learnings desired by his society, he has to identify himself with people who exemplify society's values and with the forces at play in his twentieth century society.

Identification with teacher. A teacher can exemplify the values and behavior cherished in a democracy and relate to children in ways which encourage them to include the teacher and his goals among their identifications.

[55] Lyman Bryson. *The Drive Toward Reason.* New York: Harper and Brothers, College Dept., 1954. p. 30-31.

Identification with peers. Important in the school environment are the opportunities children have for playing and carrying on purposeful activities in the presence of other children and often with their help. When children find ways for working and playing together, they gain their self-identity amidst feelings of solidarity. It matters greatly, however, whether they are forced to work things through with these others or whether they voluntarily join with them to make a go of something. Children who live through experiences in which individual differences are combined in ways that permit both the individuals and their mutually selected groups to gain identity through interaction learn what they never could learn if they were just *placed* in a group. They experience the solidarity which comes when different people find ways for working at things together, for contributing to strengthen the whole. Once in a person's history, it is a relationship which is basic to future close association with people.

Identification with older and younger children. Though there has been little research in the field, children can learn from each other about such relationships as giving-receiving, leading-following, cooperating-competing, dependence-independence. It would seem that all children should be helped in the school setting to interact with older and younger children.

Identification with people and forces in the community. Children gain feelings of belonging and identification with adult society when they explore the social processes, institutions and occupations in their community. This includes not only studying about, but actually participating in, community activities, such as safety drives, clean-up campaigns, fire prevention activities. Actual participation with adults and other children in solving problems which confront children and adults who live in a democratic society offers opportunities for solid identification with, not only the adult world, but the processes of democracy, as well.

Identification with mankind. Another means of expanding identifications is that of bringing children into contact, both directly and indirectly, with people from racial, cultural and ethnic groups other than their own so they may grow to identify themselves with mankind.

Identification Pattern for School Child

Peck suggests a pattern which will promote valued identifications:

In the last analysis, the "ideal" identification pattern for any school child can perhaps be stated quite simply:

1. To identify with the basic values of the American culture—honesty, responsibility, consideration for others and so on—because he likes and identifies with people who act on these principles. Most of this is learned unconsciously, and only if his "models" practice what they preach.[56]

2. To identify with the teacher in the areas that do not conflict with his necessary identifications with "models" of the (peer group).

3. To identify with school values because they are relevant and important in the immediate present and the foreseeable future. This does not occur unless the school promotes activities and grades (or goals) which are genuinely realistic in terms of the child's life situation.

If this pattern of identification can be established, the child will have the deepest possible motivation to learn and a minimum of internal conflict in the process. . . . this requires teachers who are first of all sincere, friendly, human beings . . . teachers who believe in what they are teaching because they see that it makes sense in terms of the realities of everyday life.[57]

Biber emphasizes the importance of the warmth of interpersonal relations and the purposeful activity characteristic of a school environment which invites identification with the teacher and school experiences. School becomes an instrument for self-realization and effective social living when teachers invite and support children's interaction in peer groups. Teachers, she believes, become psychologically significant adults when they offer a child:

. . . exciting, stirring contacts with his environment in a way that enriches his image of himself and at the same time lends magic to the discovery of the real world and when they give him opportunties to relate himself cooperatively, personally, to other children in meaningful play and work.[58]

Then, she writes, school living and learning become satisfying. More than that, the child finds ". . . a wider circle of adults with whom to identify . . . ideal figures for the steady, gradual evolvement of his own ideal for himself." [59]

An Environment Structured for Selective Interaction

The school which offers each child opportunities to advance in learning things of importance to him and his society, as he interacts

[56] Havighurst concurs with this statement. He concluded that teachers, clergy, and youth leaders influence by their presence and behavior more than by their verbal teachings. See R. J. Havighurst and others, "The Development of the Ideal Self in Childhood and Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Research* 40: 241-57; 1946.

[57] Robert Peck, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[58] Barbara Biber, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[59] *Ibid.*

selectively in the school environment, is characterized by variety in materials, activities, interpersonal relating.

Need for Expanding Learning Activities

To help each child acquire the social learnings a democratic society prizes, many school programs are woefully inadequate. For all children, such schools offer few opportunities to develop many of the capacities which are vital in solving life problems. For those who will never achieve marked verbal facility, they offer little in the way of growth.

Blair and Burton note that most school programs are based upon the narrow range of abilities covered by intelligence tests. They do not "touch at all upon aspects of intelligence which involve judgment and insight in social situations, in dealing with persons, in inventiveness in mechanical matters. Creative intelligence of all kinds," they say, "is ignored. . . ." [60]

Davis concurs with Blair and Burton. He questions whether the narrow range of academic skills and goals which have become stereotyped in the school culture is most effective in developing the intellectual, imaginative and problem-solving activities of any of the children, even those with most verbal facility. Contending that most school programs need revision, he suggests that:

> To make the schools a place where children may learn to analyze facts, to reason from them, to develop insight and inventiveness, we need far more than a systematic method for teaching words or numbers. Those attempts, moreover, that start with sweeping generalizations about reality, or community experiences all start at the wrong end of the learning sequence. We need to start with simple situations, drawn from the daily life of the pupil . . . they must be very explicit and short sequences of acts so that the learner may actually infer the relationships between specific events. The situations must also be chosen from the common life of all the pupils, so that the problems will motivate all social classes. Finally, these curriculum experiences must be intensive . . . they must be at the molecular level of analysis so that the child may carry a problem through all the detailed steps to the solution. Yet, they will be simple and realistic problems.[61]

Purposeful Studies

When school programs are expanded to attain the goals emphasized by the authors quoted above, children engage in a variety of studies

[60] Arthur Witt Blair and William H. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 127-28.

[61] Allison Davis. *Social-Class Influences upon Learning.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948. p. 99-100.

designed for such purposes as (a) satisfying curiosity, (b) following interests, (c) increasing understanding, (d) solving problems, (e) practicing skills, (f) learning new skills, procedures, activities, (g) trying out ideas.

Incidental studies. As children live and learn in the school environment designed for social learning, many opportunities for incidental studies arise from casual, informal interacting. In one sense, such incidental studies are planned. They are planned in that arrangements permit the need for such studies to arise and allow time for pursuing the studies. Usually, such studies are carried out "on-the-spot" with the resources at hand.

Deliberately planned studies. Many problems, interests or concerns arising from incidental studies lead into deliberately planned studies which extend over a relatively long period of time and require the use of resources not immediately available.

Other studies are planned for such purposes as introducing new experiences or knowledge, expanding children's horizons, including people in other times and places.

Some of the studies may remain wholly within the realm of direct experience; others may rely strongly upon the indirect; most will involve both direct and indirect experience.

Interplay of direct and indirect experience. At all ages, children learn from both direct and indirect relating. Even young children learn from vicarious experience. Though older children use vicarious experience to an even greater extent than young children, direct experience is a continuing need. It provides a firm base for the derivation of accurate meanings from indirect experience and provides for the testing of meanings in action.

Children show the perceptive teacher their needs for both direct and indirect relating. From direct relating, children raise questions, develop concerns, encounter problems which send them either to further direct experience or to the indirect. What they learn from the indirect may need testing in the direct or may necessitate recourse to other indirect sources. An interplay between both direct and indirect is necessary for refining and clarifying meanings, testing them, and using them to guide action.

Individual-group involvement. Teacher and pupils in an environment characterized by purposeful study are faced with the need for deciding who shall carry on specific studies and activities. Children sometimes work alone. At other times they work with a friend, with a group of children, or with the total class.

At times, interpersonal relating is confined to the class group; at other times relating is extended to include people from other classrooms or from the wider community.

Whether working alone or with others, a child finds himself in situations in which he receives direct guidance from the teacher and in situations in which he proceeds without direct teacher guidance.

The human characteristic of perceiving environments differently, of selecting learnings in terms of unique purposes and meanings, indicates that school environments must be structured so that each child can have access to the materials, people and activities necessary for his growth and learning. In the school environment must be a variety of resources—people and other living things; visual, auditory, graphic and plastic materials; printed materials covering a wide range in both difficulty of reading and interests; reading and other communication materials made by the teacher and by the children.

The school environment which provides the resources children need for their social learning extends beyond a given classroom. It provides interaction in the school building, on the school grounds and beyond—into the community.

Effective Communication

Communication takes on new meaning when children are invited to interact selectively in the environment. Teachers find themselves more and more concerned with discovering how the child is responding, what his thoughts, purposes and feelings are.

Recognizing the child's interpretation. An environment which is characterized by a variety of materials; individual, small group, total group activities and projects; varied experiences within and outside the school; opportunities to relate to people of the same age, and to those older and younger is frequently called a "rich" environment. Actually, though it may be "rich" in that there are a multitude of offerings, it may not, from the point of view of a given child, supply what is needed to enrich his life and aid his learning. His interpretation of what is available, his ability to learn effectively from the resources and activities which are provided, determine the nature of his response and the extent to which the environment is propitious for him.

Consolidating learnings. To keep in touch with children's developing meanings, to give children true understanding and control of the democratic learnings they are acquiring, the teacher plans time when children can verbalize from their experiences, and abstract and

generalize socially useful meanings. Only through utilizing indirect and direct experiences and planned opportunities for consolidating learnings can the teacher play his necessary part in helping children maintain continuity in their social learnings.

Facilitating communication. To help each child clarify his meanings and communicate with others, the teacher structures the environment so children have opportunities to communicate with teacher and other adults, one or more children, small groups or the total class.

Many media of communication are available—painting, singing, dancing, drawing, modeling, writing, reading, playing, dramatizing, listening to music, constructing with wood, blocks, scrap materials of all kinds. The importance of a variety of media of communication can scarcely be overstressed. It permits each uniquely different child to express, clarify and reorder his meanings; it promotes creativity and allows each to communicate through his personal idiom.

Recognizing uniqueness in language development. Children differ widely in their language development. In part, differences are due to differences in mental capacity and growth patterns. In part, they are due to differences in experiential background. Research reviewed in the previous chapter shows that some children live in environments which afford inadequate stimulation for language development.

Unfortunately, some school practices ignore the limitations children have suffered. For example, the results obtained from intelligence tests rely heavily upon language development and the ways in which children solve the problem of relating to the adult who administers the test. Many children have not had experiences which permit the test results to give a true picture of their ability, even in the narrow range covered by the tests. When decisions about placement, promotion, and curriculum experiences are based largely, sometimes wholly, upon the results obtained from such tests, not only are the children's opportunities to profit from school education limited but society loses its chance to profit from the optimum growth of all of its citizens.

Studies carried on at the University of Chicago emphasize the possibility that children who have lacked training and stimulation have much more ability than is shown by the usual intelligence test. Though there is need for further research to validate the findings, they challenge the schools to take substantial steps toward developing the latent abilities of understimulated children. According to the findings of Davis and others, there is a high degree of discrimination against lower socioeconomic groups in the intelligence tests which are widely used. A large proportion of the items in the test they studied con-

tained words and concepts with which lower socioeconomic children generally are unfamiliar. On a test designed to make the content and wording of problems and questions equally familiar to all children, the wide differences in test scores were reduced. There were differences between individual children but not differences between socioeconomic levels.[62]

Any steps which can be taken to provide educators with tests designed to give a fair picture of children's abilities will aid in decision-making. Even so, the school is still faced with responsibility for expanding learning opportunities beyond those provided in the immediate home and neighborhood group. It must help children acquire accurate and adequate language to aid them in their orientation to the world. Obviously, children intellectualize and learn much from their own observations and experiences. They can increase their understanding and control if they have the language facility to verbalize their knowing. The more precise, adequate and accurate their language, the greater will be their ability to abstract from their experience and to share with and learn from others.

Rather than despair of or censure those who are not advanced in language development, educators are well advised to recognize that some children will need time, stimulating experiences and satisfying social interaction to offset the lack of stimulation and help which has been their lot.

Each child will move forward in writing, reading and oral communication skills in accordance with the timing of his organism, his purposes, the meanings he attaches to these activities, and his mastery of language. But, during the time when he cannot take on certain skills, he must have plenty of experiences, opportunities to observe and experiment so that he can, in his way, advance in his learning and continue the all-important business of relating himself to his world. Practices which separate him from children whose language development is more advanced continue the disadvantages he has already suffered, in addition to narrowing the opportunities for establishing needed peer relationships.

[62] A. Davis, "Education for the Conservation of Human Resources," *Progressive Education* 221-26, 1950; Kenneth W. Eells, Allison Davis and others, *Intelligence and Cultural Differences*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951; Allison Davis, *Social-Class Influences upon Learning*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948. For a critique of Davis' point of view concerning the differential between social classes, see Harold E. Jones, "The Environment and Mental Development," *Manual of Child Psychology*, edited by Leonard Carmichael, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., second edition, 1954. p. 645-50.

Consulting with children. With flexibility in the use of time, space and materials, there is need for much teacher consultation with children—with one child, a group of children, an entire class and in the upper grades with children from different classes. Children, too, as they are drawn into endeavors with other children, need opportunities to consult among themselves, seeking teacher help when they reach an impasse.

Consultation is needed to plan use of time, space and materials, to determine which purposeful activities shall be carried on and by whom, to plan ways for carrying on activities, to consider varying proposals, to determine when plans need revision, to evaluate the success of the decisions made, to take a look back over an extended learning experience to determine the gains made and changes which should be made immediately or in future activities.[63]

Freedom To Interact

To structure an environment which includes materials, people and activities which each child can use for learning is but a part of the task. As Hopkins says, "In the rich environment the child must be allowed (a) to select the objects or activities which engage his attention, as they are his directions to satisfy need; (b) to express freely in many media the feelings which arise from his perceptions in his expanding psychological field."[64]

When the situation conveys to each child the feeling that he can move, communicate, do, choose, respond in *his* way, his powers of selection can be developed. To assure that the environment offers children the learning opportunities they need, the teacher, in Kelley and Rasey's terms, acts as a "stage manager and scene shifter."[65] He arranges facilities and materials, introduces new materials, new activities, people, knowledge, challenging questions to expand the area of possible selections and keep pace with the changing needs of the children.

Opportunities to make choices. Correlative to an atmosphere of freedom is the opportunity to plan the use of time, space, materials and equipment in relation to ongoing activities and new concerns as

[63] For an analysis of factors which facilitate or block cooperative procedures, see Alice Miel and others, *Cooperative Procedures in Learning*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

[64] L. Thomas Hopkins. *The Emerging Self in Home and School.* New York: Harper and Brothers, College Dept., 1954. p. 131.

[65] Earl C. Kelley and Marie I. Rasey. *Education and the Nature of Man.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. p. 76.

they arise. A program too rigidly structured, equipment which cannot be rearranged in the light of emerging needs, arbitrary schemes which keep children apart from each other or stifle communication, materials which children can use only at certain times and in specified ways, reading materials which are too difficult or unrelated to children's concerns, policies which limit school experience within the walls of a school building—all operate to restrict selection and thus inhibit learning.

There must be a large measure of freedom for movement and for individual and group decisions and choices. Long-term studies must not crowd out other important opportunities for social learnings.

Freedom to make mistakes. For a child to be free to respond uniquely to environment and at the same time respect his uniqueness, he must be protected in his right to make mistakes without loss of self-esteem. He must receive support from the teacher to keep him from making mistakes which are too overwhelming or which invite failure from which he cannot, with effort, extricate himself.

Mistakes which aid learning. When a task or problem is of concern to the child so that its solution is important to him, mistakes can aid learning. Kelley says, the teacher, as he works with children,

> . . . must provide for trial and error, with a recognition of the fact that more is often learned by what we do wrong than by what we do right. We miseducate almost universally when we fail to realize the educative value of mistakes . . . doing things wrong, with its attendant frustrations, is the very essence of growth . . . it is the contriving, the cut-and-try, the failure followed by success, which adds to the experiential background of the learner.[66]

A balance of freedom-restraint. The measure of freedom cherished in democracy's schools is the amount of freedom which can be used responsibly in a social setting where each person is respected and granted his right to realize his potentialities. License and complete permissiveness do not spell democracy's freedom. Neither do they grant the freedom which children can use for learning.

Of some things the teacher can be sure. Inexperienced and unsure of themselves as they are, children need and expect adults to keep them within limits which are manageable. They do not develop inner resources through unlimited freedom to express their impulses or engage in whatever activity they hit upon. Neither do they develop self-control and an active conscience when they are denied a measure of freedom

[66] Earl C. Kelley. *Education for What Is Real.* New York: Harper and Brothers, College Dept., 1947. p. 70.

which enables them to make choices and to react to experiences, each in his own idiosyncratic way. Biber suggests that teachers are challenged to so balance "freedom with guidance and control that we save the child for himself and at the same time initiate him into the restraints implicit in social living."[67]

The authority of shared living. When children are free to select or reject learnings, Miel and Brogan note that "the impression is frequently left that the children are . . . free and untroubled as they go about their own selecting and rejecting." [68] These authors call attention to the major limitation upon individual spontaneity in classrooms where children are building socially useful meanings for freedom:

> No one would be more surprised than children themselves if they were to hear such a description of a democratic classroom. "Just don't forget that everyone else in the room is free, too," might be more than one child's way for expressing the reality of the good hard work which is involved when a group of people sets about the task of creating and maintaining responsible freedom in their shared living.[69]

The arduous tasks of planning ways of sharing, of taking turns, of seeing that others have chances to follow activities of their choice, of recognizing when the group is too domineering, of sharing responsibilities, of learning group membership roles, of controlling one's strong urge to be on the go in order to participate with friends in activities which require that one move slowly and steadily—these and other demands for self-discipline face the child who lives in an environment where his spontaneity must be considered in the context of his relatedness to the people and things around him.

The authority of circumstances. Hazards to health and safety limit the area in which children can exercise freedom. Sometimes the children recognize the need for exercising restraint; at other times, the teacher exercises the needed control over the children, helping them to understand that circumstances, rather than his arbitrary wish, make the limitation necessary.

The authority of the teacher. The teacher of children who are free to select or reject learnings does not abdicate his position as the adult whose authority derives from his experience and wisdom. He places limits which keep children within bounds that are manageable. In this sense, he allows circumstances to determine the situations in which he

[67] Barbara Biber, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
[68] Alice Miel and Peggy Brogan, *op. cit.*, p. 347.
[69] *Ibid.*

curtails freedom. For example, he places limits which protect children from danger to health or safety; he prevents children from being cruel or unfair to others; he avoids letting them make choices in areas in which regulations or his best judgment indicates that their choices cannot be followed; he protects each child's right to have opportunities to achieve status, recognition and success.

He takes the further step of helping children understand at the time, or later if the urgencies of the situation leave no time for discussion, why the restrictions are necessary.

He limits children's decision-making to situations in which their meanings permit them to make wise decisions or recognize when the decision is not wise. For example, he does not encourage young children, individually or in groups, to sit in judgment upon and mete out penalties to other children, since they cannot possibly understand the causes of the misbehavior nor give the needed help to children who have misbehaved.

The authority of the wider society. Children inevitably encounter situations in which laws, rules and regulations of the community place limitations upon freedom of individuals. Fire regulations, traffic lights, speed limits, licensing of dogs, bicycle regulations and health regulations are illustrative. School activities should be planned so children are placed in situations where impersonal authority places restrictions upon their freedom. The teacher can help the children understand restrictions imposed by the wider society; children, in heeding the restrictions, can gain pictures of themselves as members who live within the limitations placed by the wider society.

Summary. If social education in the school is to enable children to acquire the learnings sorely needed for democratic living in today's world and in the foreseeable future, then teachers and administrators must recognize that children acquire their learnings through the process of interacting selectively in environment. The roles teachers assume must be those involved in (a) structuring an environment which invites the selection of democratic social learnings, and (b) giving children the help they need to improve consciously the selections they make. Important within the environment deliberately structured for the acquisition of positive social learnings are such factors as (a) the recognition of uniqueness, (b) an accepting climate, (c) good feelings, (d) positive identifications, (e) freedom to interact.

Many of the proposals presented in this chapter rest primarily upon empirical study which is research-based. Validation of practice awaits creative approaches in research studies. But, as Kelley and Rasey

maintain, "New facts call for new doing, and new facts take tenable action out of the realm of opinion. It is necessary to project the meaning of knowledge into practice. . . . The real difficulty is with those who practice in disregard of data and those who have data but do not project them in their meaning for action." [70]

[70] Earl C. Kelley and Marie I. Rasey, *op. cit.*, p. 64-65.

• IV •

Social Learning and Needed Research

IN THE foregoing pages an attempt was made to analyze the process through which children acquire their social learnings. From the analysis, general implications were derived for designing an elementary school environment which fosters the social learnings required to maintain and advance the democratic way of life in today's world. Findings from controlled research, action research, and the thoughtful study of recognized experts were the sources from which implications were derived.

Fostering Positive Social Learnings

Briefly stated, the role of the school was viewed as that of fostering in children the development of healthy personality and the intellectual and emotional qualities which enable them to act in accordance with democratic values and the demands placed upon citizens of a democracy. It was assumed that school education should play a crucial part in preparing children for the challenging task of maintaining and extending democracy in a rapidly changing, highly interdependent world.

It was noted that children are active participants in their own socialization: they strive to use their developing powers in association with others. The basic process through which they develop their potentialities was shown to be that of interacting selectively in environment.

Research was presented which showed that not all children fare equally well in their development and learning. First, and most importantly, the interpersonal environments in which some children grow do not provide the affection, care and guidance appropriate to the points they have reached in their development. The second reason is that there are marked differences in the opportunities children have to move about and explore their world of externality. Lack of stimulation to use their powers is the third reason. This was noted in relation to language development. A fourth factor is the failure of

many parents to screen out anti-democratic attitudes which are prevalent in the community and national scene.

From the analysis of the process of selective interaction, it was pointed out that the school must provide the kind of environment in which each child is enabled to select the learnings he needs in an interpersonal setting which is accepting, warm and friendly, and characterized by cooperative group endeavors.

Uniqueness of the individual child and his learnings was emphasized as one factor demanding variety in materials, activities, studies and opportunities for relating to people. To decide how to structure an environment to promote democratic learnings by each child, it was suggested that the teacher consider (a) the child's needs as a human being, (b) the point he has reached in his development, and (c) his needs as a unique child.

An important element in the school environment was shown to be the climate established by the interpersonal relations within the environment. Research was presented which highlighted the key position of the teacher in establishing the emotional tone of the environment. His values, interaction patterns, and use of language were shown to exercise crucial influence upon interpersonal relations and social learnings.

Good feelings and socially desirable identifications were presented as decisive factors influencing personality development and social learnings. There was an attempt to indicate ways in which the school environment can facilitate the development of positive self-other feelings and constructive identifications.

General procedures for facilitating and improving the process of interacting selectively in environment were examined. The need for expanded learning opportunities, purposeful studies, and a variety of materials for learning was emphasized.

Throughout the study ran the theme that the teacher plays a demanding and challenging role, one which requires an understanding of the forces at play in the social world and their impact upon children's learnings. Emphasis was placed upon the strategic nature of communication. It was shown that the school environment should elicit free, effective interpersonal communication. The teacher should seek to establish sensitive communication with children which provides insight into their concerns, the meanings and values they are building through their selective interaction, and how the world looks through their eyes.

It was assumed that children should be free to select the objects and activities which elicit their attention and to express their feelings

and ideas through many media of communication, each in his own idiosyncratic way. Both direct and indirect relating were recognized as necessary for optimum learning. It was indicated that children should live in an environment in which they learn democracy's meanings, values and procedures by living them, then verbalize and generalize from their direct experience, and later learn what others' experiences with democracy have been. It was recognized that knowing by learning about others' experiences is different from knowing by living through. Both are necessary for complete understanding, but the latter is prior and basic.

Need for Research, Experimentation and Study

The task of structuring and using a school environment to enable each child to build democratic meanings, values and patterns of interaction is demanding and complex. There are no easy answers, but it is urgent that answers be sought through continuous research, experimentation and study.

Weakness of Much of Existing Research

Much of the research related to children's social learnings and programs for social education is fragmentary and static. This weakness stems from tendencies to look at subjects, not at learners, and to draw conclusions from overt behavior in one situation, especially from children's verbal responses. Deeper insights into the child's feelings, the needs and purposes prompting overt behavior, are ignored in most studies.

Other factors cause research findings to be inadequate in giving direction for social education which realizes the values which contribute to desirable social learning. There is a tendency to design studies in terms of known tools and techniques, rather than to create new tools for new purposes. Many studies, especially in the field of education, are designed to solve what appear to be practical problems but which lack a sound theoretical base.

Most research findings are generalizations derived from the study of many uniquely different children. Unless caution is exercised in the use of such generalizations, educators easily fall into a practice which is detrimental to the development of good learning situations. They make decisions upon the basis of what the generalizations seem to say the child should be like, rather than upon the needs of the child as he actually is.

Though findings may be accurate and useful in the situation in which

the study was carried on, they need to be tested in the specific situation in which they will be applied.

Promising approaches to overcoming weakness in existing research and the errors inherent in over-generalization of findings lie in interdisciplinary and action research, continuous experimentation and study in the school situation.

Interdisciplinary Approaches

Research projects involving people representing various disciplines are particularly promising in yielding better understanding of the interrelationships of various factors affecting behavior and learning. When social educators engage in research or attack problems with workers from such fields as cultural anthropology, psychiatry, child development, medicine, learning theory, they recognize crucial factors affecting socialization which they might otherwise ignore. They have opportunities to receive competent help in developing sound theories and spelling out theories in practice. In addition, they become acquainted with tools and procedures developed within other disciplines which they can examine and revise for experimental approaches to study in the school situation.

Meeting with people within the community, both informally and in organized cooperative endeavors, enables teachers to become aware of problems and knowledge they might overlook when interacting solely with educators. Persons in the community who have special service functions, special education, and special competencies not only invite new views of problems but also offer a source for evaluating the effectiveness of the school program.

Cooperative Approaches in the School Situation

To realize effective social learning in the school environment, it is important that educators recognize continuing and novel factors in the community, national and world scene which have implications for the social education curriculum. It is equally important that they recognize the needs of the particular children with whom they are working, what they have learned and what they are actually learning in the present. Though the individual teacher can learn much through his own study and thoughtful observation of children-in-action, there are advantages to be gained from cooperative group endeavors.

When faculties of individual schools meet together, each member can examine his ideas and practices with the help of others who can introduce knowledge they possess, raise questions, help him examine

his practices. When relationships indicate that all are learners together, teachers become free to admit their inadequacies and to give and receive help.

Teachers from different schools within a school district report that increased understanding and significant help derive from meetings among teachers who are working upon or are interested in similar problems. Advantages accrue to children in the classrooms when teachers help one another increase their understanding of children, recognize blind spots in their thinking and planning, and recognize the kinds of children and behavior they reject and why.

Inviting parents to look at problems with teachers is a practice which merits more widespread acceptance. Parents lend another view of children, their aspirations and their problems. Both parents and teachers can increase their understanding of experiences which are significant for children when they share their ideas and together seek necessary knowledge.

In most schools there is need for the introduction of practices in which parents, teachers and children unite to study, work upon problems, and engage in pleasurable pursuits. The quality of living and the expanded social interaction which ensue have beneficent effects upon school living and learning.

An approach to curriculum improvement which has proved its value in improved planning for children's social learning is *cooperative action research.* When it is recognized that school planning must be in terms of particular children in particular situations, advantages of action research are highlighted. In this approach teachers, principals, other curriculum workers, often an outside research consultant, sometimes children, parents and other community adults, work together upon concerns and problems growing out of the questions of people directly involved in the teaching-learning situation. From the on-going situation evidence is gathered which indicates problems, permits evaluation of procedures which are tried out, and indicates need for a new view of problems and practices. Reading in relation to recognized needs, the help of outside consultants, and exchange of knowledge and experience expand insights. Action research invites practices based upon knowledge of the way children grow and learn. It encourages those involved to draw principles of child development from their own observation of particular children.

To have validity and improve practice, research must be carried on or tested in the situation in which the findings will be used. Cooperative action research has preeminent value in testing in a specific

situation the findings of research carried on in other places and other situations.

Individual Teacher Experimentation and Study

Though planned cooperative group approaches encourage teacher experimentation and study, more is needed. In the final analysis, it is the day-by-day decision-making of the classroom teacher which determines the experiences for a particular group of children. Nothing will take the place of his continuous insightful study of each child in his classroom. He needs to know about the various phases in social development, the ways in which children learn, the goals of democratic interaction. This knowledge must not lead him to state dogmatically that children are thus and so or need certain experiences. Rather, he should use his knowledge to give him clues which aid in a careful study of the unique individuals in his classroom, with the assurance that his observation of particular children-in-action will add to his knowledge of general ways in which children grow and learn and furnish clues for structuring an environment in which his particular children can build democratic habits of interaction.

Questions Requiring Research, Experimentation and Study

Among the crucial questions which beg extensive study, research and experimentation are these:

1. How can the teacher know when he is touching upon responses which are too highly charged emotionally to be handled in the classroom or by the classroom teacher? What specific procedures which elicit examination of feelings and interpersonal relating should the classroom teacher avoid?

2. How can the teacher support the children's good feelings toward the family group as children struggle to free themselves from over-dependence upon adults? Are there some procedures which cause undue anxiety by robbing a child of his moorings in the family group?

3. What experiences during different phases of social development help a child sustain individuality while he merges self with others? What experiences are wrongly timed to permit the development of such social sensitivity? What experiences help growing children understand themselves, recognize and respect their own wants, gain healthy attitudes of self-acceptance?

4. What learnings are required during the different phases of social development for children to have the bases for later, more adult meanings for sharing, democratic group membership, cooperation, responsibility, and the like?

5. What are the characteristics of school environments in which children are released to realize their potentialities, to engage in uncoerced learning?

6. What situations and experiences enable children to learn to make constructive use of freedom? How should situations and experiences change to accord with the biosocial changes which accompany growth?

7. Through what group organizations can children learn the forms and procedures of democracy, without sacrificing the social sensitivity and individuality which define the spirit of democracy?

8. What inservice and preservice experiences develop teachers who are sensitive to children as children and as distinct individuals, each with his own array of problems to be solved, his own strengths, weaknesses and potentialities?

9. What inservice and preservice experiences develop insights which enable teachers to determine what experience means to a given child and how a child is reacting to learning situations? What experiences enable a teacher to develop skill in using what is learned from observation of his children to restructure the environment in terms of their peculiar social learning needs?

10. What techniques can the teacher use to help him search more deeply than the mere observation of overt behavior to determine how a child feels, what purposes his behavior is serving, what social meanings he is building from his experiences?

11. What problems do children encounter, what concerns do they have which can be utilized to provide important learnings?

12. How do different children and children at different points in their social development cope with their problems? What processes and sequences are involved in developing new views of problems, new ways of coping with them?

13. What studies have proved to have social learning value in situations in which teacher and children can select the studies which they will pursue? How do they get started upon useful studies? What procedures develop true involvement on the part of children?

14. When and under what circumstances is verbalization an aid to true understanding of feelings, interpersonal relations, social concepts? Are there ways in which children indicate their readiness to deepen understanding through increased opportunities to verbalize their meanings?

15. What experiences and interpersonal relationships are effective in nourishing or rekindling curiosity and creativity?

16. What valuable social learnings accrue to a child from relating to children older and younger than himself? What are the characteristics of a school environment which affords opportunities for children to realize in full measure the social learnings inherent in interaction with children their own age—those older, those younger?

17. What experiences help children link the past to the present? When are different kinds of experiences appropriate? What direct and indirect experiences are useful?

Search for adequate answers to the questions listed here suggests a need for (a) more longitudinal studies to provide better perspective on the meaning of behavior in the growing child's effort to orient himself to his world, (b) more studies of the developmental history of well-adjusted children, (c) more studies of social development during the elementary school years, and (d) accurate and detailed descriptions of school environments and social interaction in situations in which social learnings are positive.

To answer the challenge for providing social education for today's children, educators must become more experimentally minded, more competent in studying empirically with their eyes upon learning children, more willing to work cooperatively with fellow educators and with workers in other disciplines. They must see themselves as learners in quest of more profound understanding of the world in which they live and the values which democracy cherishes, deeper insights into the process of social learning, and a surer knowledge of the ways in which school environments can help uniquely different children acquire socially useful learnings.

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